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The Shape of Things

THE BUILDING-UP OF JAPANESE AIR POWER in the Philippines for the purpose of waging an all-out battle on that new outpost of Japan's "basic sea area" has simply resulted in the annihilation of all the strength so carefully husbanded. Japanese aircraft virtually disappeared from the Central and Southwest Pacific during the summer, except for the abortive attack on our forces off Saipan, which cost the enemy more than 400 planes; the rest of his air force was being withdrawn to the Philippines to meet our expected blows in that direction. Perhaps the Japanese expected a respite while our Fifth Fleet rested and refitted after the Marianas campaign; at any rate, they were disappointed, for Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet went directly into action against the Philippines a little over a month ago, and in twenty-five days delivered four strikes against the Philippines and one against the Bonin and Volcano Islands, destroying or damaging more than 1,000 planes and 500 ships. Two strikes against the Manila area were enough to break the enemy air force and disperse his naval vessels; the next two strikes were more or less mop-ups, and on the last our pilots found only seven Japanese planes to shoot down. The entire series cost us sixty-one planes, and our surface vessels were not even damaged. It is surely a record unsurpassed in warfare. Immediate results included the evacuation of civilians from Davao and Manila; future results should include Allied air supremacy when General MacArthur returns—which, with the completion of the bloody clean-up on Peleliu, should not be too long delayed.

*

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL WAS AT HIS BEST in his masterly review for the House of the momentous military developments of the past two months and the pressing political problems which lie ahead. All in all it was probably the most encouraging speech that Churchill has delivered. He spoke more positively and specifically than ever before of the immense contribution which Britain is prepared to make in the war against Japan. In the political field, Churchill promised to recognize a provisional French government as soon as pending steps are completed for making the National Committee of Liberation responsible to a broadened, elective legislative assembly; this is a move, however grudging, in

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the right direction. The Prime Minister also spoke fairly optimistically about the prospects of an early settlement of the Polish question through a renewal of direct negotiations between Mr. Milolajczyk and Marshal Stalin. Mr. Churchill made it clear that on several issues—the Polish question, problems connected with international security organization, and the treatment of Germany—serious differences of opinion had arisen between Britain and Russia. But his invitation to Stalin to join in another three-power conference showed his government's determination to carry forward Allied cooperation into the post-war period.

*

THE STATEMENT WITH WHICH ROOSEVELT and Churchill responded to the events of the past few weeks in Italy read as if it had been based on the advice of realists on the spot rather than on the homework of State Department experts. This move, by increasing the prestige and authority of the present Italian government, removing the word Control from the name of the Allied Commission, and promising the Italian people relief from "hunger and sickness and fear," will serve to temper the rising storm of which the killing of Carretta was a premonitory rumble. What remains to be seen is whether the Roosevelt-Churchill statement will really be implemented or will turn out, by design or ineptitude, to be one of those devices for keeping a people quiet so vividly described in the annals of—Tacitus. If it is not implemented, the Allied Commission in Italy may soon face a revolutionary situation—"chaotic" is the word the State Department uses—and any government which emerged from a revolution would be far to the left of Bonomi's.

*

DE GAULLE'S ECONOMIC PLAN FOR FRANCE will bring little comfort to the Two Hundred Families. It has already brought new hope to the French people. The plan as outlined in his Lille speech calls for a sharp break away from "that political, social, and moral situation that took us to the edge of the abyss" and the establishment of a planned economy in which the state will "direct the economic effort of the entire nation for the benefit of all." Admitting the advantage of conserving the "stimulus of just profit and initiative," De Gaulle refuses to contemplate the rebuilding of the industrial trusts that dominated pre-war France and declares unequivocally that the state itself will "take over the great sources of common wealth." Readers of *The Nation* will recognize in the proposal a close affinity to the economic plans outlined in the resistance movement months before the liberation. There can be no doubt that the great majority of the people of France are solidly behind the plan. Nevertheless, we predict hard sledding for De Gaulle. For he will have to cope with other plans for France conceived by some among its foreign liberators whose main interest will be to reinstate France's erstwhile economic overlords and their economic rule. The first act of our new representative to France, Jefferson Caffery, was to snub De Gaulle's administration by insisting that we had not yet recognized the French Provisional Government. We suspect, with reason, that our Minister may be more sympathetic to those reactionary interests with which he has so long been associated than to De Gaulle's desire that "the life of every Frenchman and Frenchwoman shall become a better one." Fortunately, neither Mr. Caffery nor the economic lords of yesterday's world can delay for long the determination of the French people that tomorrow's life shall be free.

*

ALTHOUGH BRITAIN'S NEW SOCIAL-SECURITY plan is slightly inferior to the Beveridge proposals, it represents a marked improvement on the present system and is vastly better than our own limited program. Like the Beveridge plan, the new British proposals attempt to provide protection against all types of insecurity, whether resulting from unemployment, old age, sickness, motherhood, large families, or death of the family breadwinner. Provision is also made for an improved national health service, for training pay for jobless workers, and for free milk and meals for school children. Benefits are, on the whole, more liberal than at present although somewhat less adequate than those recommended by Beveridge. No effort is made, as in the Beveridge plan, to base benefits and family allowances on minimum subsistence levels so as to be certain that every British child is adequately nourished and provided with the necessities of life. In defending the decision of the British government to cut family allowances, retirement pensions, and widows' benefits below subsistence levels, the New York *Times* declares that "the danger today . . . is chiefly . . . of forgetting the effects of . . . benefits in reducing the incentive to find useful work." It warns also that "excessive taxes can reduce the total production upon which the welfare of all of us depends." This thesis is still a popular one in extreme reactionary circles in America, but the important fact about the British plan is not its concessions to conservative economic notions but its full recognition that no modern state can risk the discontent and misery that arise from undernourishment, preventable sickness, lack of educational opportunity, and insecurity.

*

THE RAGE WITH WHICH THE ARGENTINE fascist press greeted President Roosevelt's frank denunciation of "Nazi-fascist influence and methods" in that country proves how effectively his statement was aimed. Throughout the American-Argentine controversy, official propaganda in Buenos Aires has implied that the attitude of the United States government represented only Mr. Hull's personal inclination, with which the President

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privately but strongly disagreed. In support of this interpretation, the former Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, has been frequently quoted. Good use has been made of his contrary theories, as is proved by the fact that within the next few days a Spanish edition of his book, "The Time for Decision," will appear in Buenos Aires, where other American books on foreign policy are virtually banned. In anti-fascist Argentine circles, President Roosevelt's statement has been accorded an enthusiastic reception, according to Professor Cernuchi of the University of Tucuman, who made a most interesting exposé of the Argentine situation at a press conference held last Monday in the office of *The Nation*. Professor Cernuchi, just arrived in this country as a special delegate of the Argentine movement of resistance, said that for the first time in his memory the name of the United States was acclaimed at an impressive demonstration in Buenos Aires on the day of the fall of Paris—a demonstration to which the President referred in his statement. More than 200,000 persons participated in the gathering, which was recognized as a turning-point from silent opposition to the government to open antagonism. "I do not think that many more such demonstrations will be allowed," added Professor Cernuchi, "but there will be a day when all Argentine fascism has learned from the Gestapo will not avail to stop the people—the day when Berlin falls. Then the people will take the Casa Rosada" (the Argentine White House). The resistance delegate made the important disclosure that within the near future an Argentine *Junta de Liberación* will be created in Montevideo, with the support of all the political parties.

A Plan for Germany

IT SEEMS likely that Secretary Morgenthau's proposal for the destruction of Germany as an industrial state was released through the State Department as a balloon intended to test the strength and direction of public opinion. If that was the idea, the results have been impressive. The dangers of the plan were pointed out by almost the whole rational press, and two days after its release it was officially if obliquely denounced by Mr. Hull. A few days later the President himself issued instructions to the Foreign Economic Administrator to work out his plans for the economic control of Germany "under the guidance of the Department of State," an order which ruled out the likelihood of a future de-industrialized Germany.

The balloon was finally shot down by General Eisenhower, whose first proclamation to the German people, telling them just what to expect under Allied military rule, was a model of good sense. He said in effect: We will overthrow the Nazi power, wipe out militarism, punish persons guilty of atrocities and other crimes, take over all the functions of government, and stamp out any resistance to Allied authority; but we are not going to oppress or terrorize the German people. This calm statement cleared the air and took away from Goebbels some of the ammunition he had manufactured out of Carthaginian threats and evidences of divided counsels among the Allies.

But even Eisenhower cannot create a long-range, unified plan for the future of Germany. That can come only as the result of common agreement among the major powers, and no such agreement has been reached. This is the disturbing fact. It was bad enough that the collapse of Italian resistance found the Allies without any fixed policy for Italy. It would be immeasurably worse if German collapse should occur before the three great powers have done more than agree on their respective spheres of military occupation and on immediate measures of control. Discord or a struggle for power within Germany would not only encourage dangerous elements in that country to try to exploit such differences for their own advantage; it would threaten the over-all collaboration among the three great Allies upon which all hope of lasting peace depends.

Yet it is questionable whether even a serious attempt has been made to arrive at an accord on Germany. At Teheran complete unanimity of opinion on military matters prevailed, and the splendid results are now being realized. But apparently the three powers cautiously skirted a discussion of the policy to be applied after Germany's defeat and occupation. And this is hardly surprising when, even in the Cabinet of a single nation, members disagree as profoundly as do Secretary Hull and Secretary Morgenthau.

In presenting our own plan for Germany we intend to avoid the oversimplified and abstract terminology which has been so generally applied to this subject. To begin with, we reject as unrealistic the classification of "hard" peace as opposed to "soft" peace. These words mean nothing unless they are defined in terms of actual people and measures. We want the "hardest" peace imaginable for Nazi officials and party members, the S. S. blackguards, the militarists; also for the social elements—Junkers, monopolists, big industrialists—who were re-

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sponsible for bringing Hitler to power. We want German fascism destroyed to its last roots, as we want fascism destroyed all over Europe and in the rest of the world. But this "hard" peace should not strike with equal force whatever anti-Nazi elements exist in Germany after Hitler's collapse; at least it should give them an opportunity to show their capacity to rise and to fight for a decent Germany.

More pertinent than a protracted debate about a "hard" or "soft" peace is the working out of a settlement with Germany which will hold; which will be supported by the American people not only now but ten years from now.

There are two chief purposes to be sought in planning the future of Germany. One is to prevent the revival of German military power and the Nazi state. The other is to contribute to the construction of a sound and peaceful Europe. Terms for Germany, "hard" or "soft," are wise if they serve those ends, reckless if they fail to.

As far as the first purpose is concerned, the program is relatively simple. The record of Germany is such that the victorious powers are fuly justified in treating it as a special problem. We favor without reserve the complete and immediate disarming of Germany, from top to bottom. We favor the destruction of the army itself as a military force. And we believe that an Allied military mission should be left in Germany for an indefinite period to guard against secret rearmament such as followed the last war.

On the other hand we believe that the German army, after its surrender, should not be immediately demobilized but should be reorganized as a labor force for the reconstruction of areas it has laid waste. Equipped with tools and trucks instead of guns and tanks, units of the former Wehrmacht should be put to work, under the command of the authorities of the countries to which they are assigned, to rebuild towns, roads, railways, and in general to make what physical reparation is possible for the immeasurable destruction they have brought about.

Such a scheme is more than a measure of retribution or even of reconstruction. It has the added merit of insuring a gradual, piecemeal demobilization of the German army. Nothing would more seriously threaten order and delay the emergence of democratic civilian elements in Germany than to flood the country with millions of returned soldiers, schooled in Nazi doctrine as well as in violence, few of whom could be absorbed by the shattered industries of the Reich.

The destruction of the Nazi state apparatus and the elimination of all Nazi officials who may survive the defeat may be taken for granted. Such temporizing with Fascist functionaries as took place in Italy is not likely to be repeated in Germany. But past experience justifies a warning against any dealings with such left-overs from pre-Nazi days as Dr. Heinrich Brüning. There are many persons of his type who have remained in close touch with similar elements in London and Washington. And these are the very men whose timidity and conservatism prevented them from taking action against the Nazis at a time when Hitler could have been jailed and his movement smashed. Far better undivided Allied military control than the use of German Badoglios.

The trial and punishment of German war criminals, agreed to at Moscow, is again promised by Eisenhower. We strongly favor the plan to turn over for punishment to the people who have suffered under Nazi terror the men directly responsible. But we think this plan should apply in Germany as well. No matter what may be the normal restrictions of military rule, we insist that every genuine effort on the part of the people to overthrow their Nazi rulers and bring them to justice must be encouraged rather than repressed. The hope of a regenerated Germany depends largely on the will of the people to purge their country of fascists and militarists. Every Nazi gangster—from Hitler down—who is caught and shot by Germans will be worth a hundred tried in an Allied court and duly executed by an Allied firing squad.

More difficult to agree upon than measures of disarmament and the elimination of Nazi rule are plans for controlling Germany's economic life. At this point the first purpose merges with the second—the reconstruction of Europe. For the future of Germany cannot be separated from that of the Continent as a whole.

The partition of Germany into several states according to traditional political and religious groupings, as proposed by Sumner Welles, would have the effect not only of breaking up German industrial unity, but also of depriving Prussia of its dangerous position of dominance. The more extreme proposal made by Mr. Morgenthau would even more certainly reduce the Reich to industrial and military impotence for a considerable period. But in spite of these advantages both plans seem to us confessions of weakness and predictions of failure. A first obvious objection is that they could be accomplished only by force and maintained only by force. Here we have a plan which insures the rise of frantic agitation on the part of naitonalist groups intrenched solely in preparing the ground for a new war of "liberation." How long, we wonder, would the American people be willing to leave troops in Europe to prevent the reunion of Germany's severed parts? But a more serious objection, especially to the Morgenthau plan, lies in its economic consequences. Germany is the heart of the economy of Central Europe. To destroy German industry is to weaken still further an economic structure already demoralized by years of war. Surely saner methods can be found to control the Reich's concentrated economic

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power than by partition and the actual demolition of its industrial plant. Surely the Allied powers have sufficient force and ingenuity to use rather than smash what is left of Germany's productive capacity.

Industrial power is not lodged in machines and mines and railways. It is wielded by men, representing political and economic interests. These interests are what must be destroyed—and the men with them if necessary. After the last war the Thyssens and Krupps kept their wealth and therefore their power. This time they must be stripped of both.

But the future of Germany is not going to be decided by Mr. Roosevelt alone, or in a conference between the President and the Prime Minister. Moscow is far from London and Washington; it is close politically and economically to Berlin. Any plan for Germany must be acceptable to Russia.

It is clear that Russia will support no scheme for the dismemberment of Germany or the destruction of German industry. Only the other day Tass, official Russian news agency, bluntly said that "projects of this kind have not been and are not considered by the European Advisory Commission." We have had many indications that the Soviet government expects German industry to contribute heavily to the restoration of Russia. As much as two years ago the Russians expressed doubt as to the wisdom of the demolition air attacks on German industrial plants; their own air force has carried out no such destructive raids. What Russia presumably wants in Germany is a system of economic control which will insure that production is geared to the use of Germany's neighbors, chiefly the Soviet Union, and that no power remains in the hands of the financial interests that were responsible above all others for the rise of Hitler.

What should become of these great properties ultimately depends both upon developments in Germany and upon the development of Europe as a whole. If Germany is not a geographic or an economic vacuum, neither is it a vacuum in the political sense. Germany is part of the entire European social-political process. And Europe is moving rapidly toward the left. The socialism that is about to overtake the Nazified industries of France will become the logical successor in Germany to the military control installed by the occupation. Nowhere will the domination of the Thyssens and the Comité des Forges and their various counterparts survive the profound changes that are today in preparation all over Europe.

That is why, while supporting the most drastic measures necessary to secure the destruction of Nazism and German military power, we oppose a policy which would check the revolutionary process in Germany under the pretext of maintaining order. The "education" of Germany demands, above all, that the Germans themselves share in the liquidation of Nazism and that the armies of occupation do not prevent a German day of reckoning.

Much will depend upon the courage with which the anti-Nazi Germans face their own situation and the situation of their country. To concentrate their main effort, as some of those outside Germany have done, upon denouncing Vansittartism and expressing horror whenever the slightest modification of the 1919 frontiers is suggested will neither help the German revolution nor moderate Allied policy toward Germany. Every German who is not a Nazi must be ready to accept the fact that deep-rooted doubt prevails, even among people whom it would be absurd to characterize as Vansittartist, as to whether Germany can ever become a peaceful member of a new world organization. And he must recognize that the Allied nations will adopt a policy in support of a democratic Germany only if the German people prove themselves, in action and words, mature enough for the historic task of ending forever the Germany of Frederick the Great, of Bismarck, of Wilhelm II, and of Hitler.

The leadership for such a movement in Germany is not yet visible, nor do we believe there is much likelihood that a popular revolution will take place before the Nazi power is crushed by military defeat. The important thing for Allied authorities to remember is that in the emergence of a popular movement lies the greatest permanent hope of a Germany capable of living in peace with its neighbors.

Home is the Soldier

It is all here: Angela wearing her smart felt autumn hats
again,
George with his remembered jokes, the familiar tear in the
window blind:
All is unchanged, the glass world utterly unchanged by war;
It is all here except the thing you expected to find.

They are, if anything, younger; it is you who have aged,
But, whatever you were looking for, you will not find it
here:
It is somewhere between neon light and light, between a
bar and bar,
Somewhere in quiet summer leaves at midnight, or dead in
a former year.

Something that was here, if it was ever anywhere at all, is
gone:
You had three days at home to find that home was not home
any more;
And gone wherever it is that such things go: lost with a
word,
Shut out of another, younger life with some lost closing
of a door.

FREDERICK EBRIGHT.

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Bricker's Running Mate

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Aboard Dewey's Train, September 27

THOMAS E. DEWEY'S first major campaign trip proceeded on a split-second schedule for nearly two weeks. Each arrival and departure was precisely timed; each word and gesture seemed to conform to a well-prepared script, with laughter strictly rationed. ("Smile, Governor," a man shouted during the Lansing reception. "I thought I was," replied Governor Dewey.) The whole enterprise was a magnificent display of efficiency. It was also monotonous, uninspired. It looked as if the GOP were engaged in a conspiracy to bore the electorate and blanket the election. Dewey made few platform appearances, using press conferences as his main medium of communication. Two unanticipated events enlivened the junket—a train wreck near Portland and Mr. Roosevelt's speech. The impact of the latter was the more violent.

On his eight-thousand-mile trip Dewey showed he was no black-mustachioed villain in a reactionary political thriller but rather a quick-change artist. Three separate and distinct portraits of Mr. Dewey might have been painted on this journey. In the first phase he was the attentive listener. He raised the demobilization scare at Philadelphia, embraced most of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy at Louisville, and tried to pump new life into the faded "MacArthur issue" at Valentine, Nebraska. These blasts kept him off the obituary pages. But most of the time en route to the West Coast he just listened and nodded sympathetically without direct commitment. He heard the laments of the prosperous cattle men and transmitted them to the correspondents. His aides gave fiery pep talks to local politicians. Dewey himself sat through innumerable conferences with business men, veterans, obscure labor representatives, Negro delegations—seeming to drink in the thoughts of each in turn. As we approached the West Coast, it was a dull, funereal procession, attracting small crowds, stirring little tumult.

The second portrait emerged at Seattle. There he delivered his labor address, skilfully phrased in the language of labor's grievances. This was no Union League Club version of the workingman's woes; it had obviously been prepared by experts familiar with the Washington labor scene. In San Francisco his romance with the New Deal became more intense. In Los Angeles Dewey virtually took over the C. I. O. program for expansion of social-security legislation. The disconsolate murmurings of the Old Guard were loud and insistent. Was this the Willkie story being reenacted? Would "real Republicans" again be denied "a real choice"? The Chicago *Tribune* relegated his speeches to page ten, usually reserved for Mr. Roosevelt's remarks.

To independent observers on the pilgrimage, however, Dewey's campaign had finally begun to make sense. He was deliberately and stubbornly ignoring the advice of the Old Guard. He knew their votes belonged to him anyway and knew also that those votes had not added up to victory for his three predecessors. He had to prove that any resemblance between himself and our only living ex-President was entirely accidental. If he were successful he might lure some section of the independent vote, neutralize portions of the labor vote, and create doubt among former FDR supporters who instinctively disliked a fourth term. Meanwhile, lesser Republican orators could play the other side of the street, taunting Sidney Hillman, flirting with the isolationist fringe, solidifying the party's habitual followers.

Then Mr. Roosevelt went on the air.

Future students of this campaign will not have to probe much farther for the turning-point. No one in the Dewey entourage questioned the power of FDR's performance. In a single speech he had exploded the "tired-old-man" charge. He displayed a warmth and wit that emphasized the political frigidity of his opponent. He infused fighting human content into a drab race. The correspondents listening to the broadcast aboard the Dewey train were unanimously bowled over, regardless of private loyalties. The next day Dewey had to make the biggest decision of his campaign—whether to drop the New Deal mask and fight back as the Old Guard had wanted him to fight all along, or stick to his initial plan without outward evidence of discomfort.

The third Dewey enters. The essential strategy of his campaign was junked overnight. In his seventh and final radio speech of the trip he struck back on the ground that Mr. Roosevelt had chosen for him. It was an aggressive reply, ably delivered and containing some effective passages. But it was fundamentally the reply of a Republican conservative, fighting on the line where his party had suffered so many defeats in the Roosevelt era. On the homeward journey his reversion to Republican type was even more pronounced. In half a dozen platform appearances he dispelled any confusion about his current identity. This wasn't Franklin Roosevelt or Wendell Willkie or any minor imitator speaking. It was John W. Bricker's running mate. Tom Dewey was rediscovering the banalities of the Landon campaign. The crowds were bigger, more animated. But they were composed of the same old faces that had given Willkie and Landon the illusion of victory. Only the bobby-sock girls were new, and most of them won't vote this year.

Now, entering the decisive October phase of the contest, Dewey must select his campaign portrait. Will he once again become an austere, soft-spoken, business-like character, dutifully carrying his message to the countryside and trusting that a large number of voters will remain deeply uninterested in the outcome? Can he recapture the pose of streamlined New Dealer, pledging so-

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cial progress at bargain prices, high-pressure bureaus that run without bureaucrats? Or will he be the free-swinging, hard-hitting spokesman of the Old Guard's cause, crying out against the "Hillman-Communist alliance," exploiting war-time inconveniences, promising a new freedom for free enterprise? A modernized Hoover, a mellowed Willkie, or just a serious young man with a mission? That is the question. Probably the only safe prophecy is that, as in the past, he will exhibit the courage of Dr. Gallup's predictions.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

ALTHOUGH prospects of an immediate victory over Germany went glimmering with the magnificent failure at Arnhem, the noose continues to tighten around the Reich; and, after all, Mr. Churchill only said that several months of 1945 *might* be required for Germany's final defeat. He added, "Many persons of the highest technical attainment and knowledge and responsibility have good hopes that it will be all over by the end of 1944"; and Raymond Daniell, the astute New York *Times* man in London, cabled his paper: "There were some of those who heard the Prime Minister's report on the progress of the war . . . who thought his remarks were a guarded expression of his own belief that the new year might see the dawn of peace in Europe, after more than five years of war."

Arnhem, of course, was not a complete failure: the estimate of "80 per cent success" placed on the over-all air-borne operation by a senior staff officer seems just. The Red Devils occupied the full attention of General Sepp Dietrich's first-class S. S. troops, and held out for nine days against greatly superior forces, heavy artillery, tanks, and flame-throwers; their grievous losses and outstanding courage and tenacity enabled General Dempsey's troops to move from the stalemated line of the Escaut Canal to new positions beyond the Maas and Waal, where they still threaten the soft end of the Siegfried Line and have seriously compromised the enemy troops remaining in western Holland. Beyond these immediate tactical gains, the operation proved that air-borne troops can be dropped a good deal deeper in enemy territory than had been previously known, that the advantage of surprise enables even a lightly armed air-borne division to hold off superior forces for a considerable time, and that the Germans in their present state are hard put to it to concentrate such superior forces quickly.

The last factor is likely to remain the decisive one on the western front this fall. The Germans lost a million men in France and the Low Countries; there are now probably not more than half a million men holding the 500-mile front from Switzerland to the sea. Against these thirty or fewer divisions the Allies have poised six armies —between two and three million men. With this superiority at hand, the Allied strategy is obviously to strike consecutive blows in widely separated sectors, thus keeping the enemy off balance, until strength can be built up in one sector for the decisive break-through. With troops tied down all along the front trying to meet the consecutive Allied blows, and with almost nothing in the way of reserves behind the front, the Germans should find it next to impossible to cope with a break-through, and the way should be opened for quick pursuit and "the dividend of victory."

Logistics and weather are the chief barriers to the neat and orderly unfolding of this plan, so glibly set forth from a comfortable foxhole in Chelsea. The "madness" of German commanders in holding out for so long in the ports of France is now shown to have been about as crazy as a fox. Cherbourg and Marseilles are a long way from the Vosges; use of Antwerp is still denied; Le Havre and Calais and the others were surely well blown before they fell. We have perhaps a million troops at the wrong end of a very long funnel, fighting in the rain, which not only makes them wretched but, more important, turns our hard-won aerial supremacy into nothingness on many days. October is one of the worst flying months over Europe: last year the Eighth Air Force operated on only seven days, and rain is anticipated on sixteen or seventeen days out of thirty-one.

Victory will come in the west this year if the ports are cleared, the roads are passable, and the air forces can operate. October must be kind, and General Lee (Eisenhower's supply man) must pass a miracle. If these conditions are fulfilled, the Germans are licked; already the enemy troops are being chewed up, tanks and men being destroyed in that slow but deadly process of attrition Montgomery called "the meat-grinder," which has preceded every Anglo-American victory since Alamein. The process was last revealed in Normandy; and there was much head-wagging over the rate of advance then, too.

Germans lost now cannot be replaced from other fronts. Parts of twenty-five divisions are fighting for their lives in Italy, having been driven in costly battle from most of the Gothic Line through the mountains, but having now the water barriers of the Po Valley to fight behind. Across the Adriatic the Germans in the Balkans are engaged by a fantastic combination of Yugoslav partisans, Anglo-American landing forces, and Russian troops of the Second Ukrainian Front, who form the link between the ever-compressing southern and eastern fronts. The majority of German troops are still fighting the Red Army: their expulsion from most of the Baltics and their imminent disaster in Hungary do not improve German prospects on the dangerous center of the front, around Warsaw, when the anticipated Russian blow direct toward Berlin develops.

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Three Crucial Counties

BY I. F. STONE

Chicago, September 28

FROM the Civil War until 1932 Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan had been pretty securely Republican. Ohio had left the party fold only in 1912 and in 1916. Illinois had voted once for Cleveland (1892) and once for Wilson (1912). Michigan had never gone Democratic in a Presidential election since the Republican Party was formed in 1854. Roosevelt carried all three in 1932 and four years later increased his majorities in them. Ohio gave Roosevelt only 74,000 more votes than Hoover in 1932 but in 1936 cast 619,000 more votes for Roosevelt than for Landon. In Illinois Roosevelt beat Hoover by 449,000 votes; Landon, by 712,000. In Michigan Roosevelt's margin over his Republican opponent was 131,500 votes in 1932; 317,000 votes in 1936.

To Middle Western Republican politicians in 1936 it must have looked as if the Hoover depression had altered the area's political patterns as sharply as the slavery issue did in the 1860's. Despite returning prosperity, higher labor costs, sharp strikes, and a steady chorus of charges of communism from the press, the middle class was more strongly behind Roosevelt than it had been four years before. In 1936, in this as in most other areas, Roosevelt was the choice of the farmer and small-town business man as well as the worker. To obtain the seventy-two electoral votes of these three states, he was not dependent on working-class majorities in the three crucial counties of Cuyahoga (Cleveland), Cook (Chicago), and Wayne (Detroit). In 1936 Roosevelt carried 67 of the 88 counties in Ohio, 72 of the 102 counties in Illinois, 49 of the 83 counties in Michigan. He had a majority of 437,000 in Ohio before he reached the Cuyahoga County line. In Illinois he won the "downstate" regions outside Cook County by 160,648 votes. He carried Michigan outside Wayne County and Detroit by 103,000 votes. The New Deal was a victorious coalition, as representative of the farmer and the middle class as of the worker. But this coalition was to prove far less permanent than the one which had brought Free-Soil farmer and Northern capitalist together under Lincoln.

By 1940, in this area as elsewhere outside the South, the working class alone was solidly for Roosevelt. That year he carried only 28 of the 88 counties in Ohio, 29 of the 102 counties in Illinois, 15 of the 83 counties in Michigan. He lost downstate Illinois by 127,000 votes, rural and small-town Michigan by 182,000 votes. Chicago made it possible for him to carry Illinois, but Detroit failed to counterbalance its countryside and Willkie won Michigan by 6,926 votes. Ohio, where Roosevelt still had a majority of 8,318 votes outside Cuyahoga County and Cleveland, seems to have departed from this pattern until more closely examined. If one puts aside the vote in Ohio's eight industrial counties with populations of more than 100,000 one sees that Roosevelt lost the rest of the state—rural and small-town Ohio—by almost 94,000 votes. The workers of Cleveland, Youngstown, Akron, Dayton, and Canton saved Ohio for the President in 1940. They, and the workers of Chicago, Detroit, and a dozen lesser industrial centers, can put Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan in the Democratic column this year—insuring Roosevelt's reelection—but only if they register and vote almost literally to the last eligible man and woman.

It may be that the President's final radio speeches, the fear of a change until Hitler is defeated and the boys safely started home, the gratitude of some normally Republican areas like the Dutch farm country in Michigan will attract some G. O. P. votes to Roosevelt. These at best can hardly do more than offset the defection of many German votes, notably in Cincinnati, and of many Irish votes, notably in Chicago, which normally go Democratic. The workers in the great industrial centers of these three states will have to cast enough ballots to outweigh larger anti-Roosevelt majorities than ever in rural and small-town areas and even in some of the industrial towns. Cincinnati and Columbus are examples of this last group.

The worker is strictly on his own in this election. The Middle Western farmer and the small town are back in the Republican fold until the next crisis, and nobody knows just where that will send them. People respond to what seems their immediate interest; they rarely think in long-range terms. To the worker Roosevelt represents the right to organize, unemployment insurance, and the vague if glamorous hope of something called full employment. To the farmer and small business man he is associated with higher wages and higher operating costs. That higher wages have also expanded and maintained his market is an abstract proposition in economics too elusive for his bookkeeping. These marginal operators, never too far ahead of the sheriff, have to keep their eyes focused sharply on their own balance sheets.

It is easy to term the anti-New Deal swing since 1936 "reaction," which it is, but it is more important to understand it. The Middle West has its share of embryo fascists, but the bulk of the anti-New Dealers are good folk, with no sinister intentions. It is not hard to see

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why "free-enterprise" slogans have so strong a hold upon them; they have themselves seen and practiced "free enterprise." The farms between the Ohio and the Mississippi are family size; the farmers are competent; their land is well cared for. These neat farms refresh the eye and spirit after the wasted and slatternly acres one so often sees to the south and west. Agriculture here is really a way of life, not a business; the farmer in this area consumes more of his own products than in most states. The Midwestern farmer is self-reliant, individualistic, fairly contented, and therefore conservative. The slogans of the New Deal do not have much meaning for him, though he does react to measures and movements—like the C. I. O. bogyman—which seems to make it harder to keep the hired man (when he has one) happy.

This individualism is not inconsistent with cooperative activity, where it shows up in dollars-and-cents savings, but the pragmatic farmer seems to draw few, if any, generalizations from his participation in the cooperative movement. I visited the rich Ohio Farm Bureau headquarters in Columbus. Its consumer-cooperative show windows would do credit to a metropolitan department store. I talked with Murray Lincoln, its spark plug and sage, a maverick from Massachusetts, in his walnut and chintz offices. The Ohio Farm Bureau's consumer co-op did a quarter-million-dollar business last year. The Farm Bureau sells feed, fertilizers, oil, and insurance. It manages the country's fourth largest automobile mutual insurance company. I could find no evidence that these successful activities in competition with capitalist enterprise had changed the thinking of the farmers who take part in them and profit by them. Lincoln himself is a leading progressive. The *Ohio Farm Bureau News* for September, which I picked up in his reception room, carries an editorial gently suggesting "production for use instead of profit." Most Farm Bureau members, like most Ohio farmers, whether normally Republican or Democratic, will vote for Dewey none the less.

The small Midwestern business man, like the small Midwestern farmer, is perhaps best observed in Ohio. Michigan is only "Midwestern" by geography. The miner and the lumberjack are as important in its economy as the automobile worker; its farmers specialize in seeds, fruits, and vegetables; extensive wood and paper industries in the state depend on the axes of its French Canadian woodsmen; it is the world's greatest producer of iron ore; and it is the domain of big business from the Calumet and Hecla copper mines in the far northern Keweenaw Peninsula to General Motors, Ford, and Detroit. Chicago is big business, too; outside Chicago, Illinois has only one city, Peoria, with more than 100,000 population. But Ohio has eight cities of more than 100,000—Massachusetts is the only other state which has as many—and dozens of smaller towns hardly one of which has not an industry of some sort; the state seems one unending Main Street. This is a good place to study the entrepreneur, large and small.

To those of us who know the world of business principally through the volumes of the Temporary National Economic Committee's monopoly investigation and the records of recent anti-trust proceedings, "free enterprise" is something to put between quotation marks. But one cannot understand the anti-New Deal undercurrent among the smaller business men unless one understands that "free enterprise" is something they have seen produce industrial wonders in their lifetimes. There is hardly an Ohio town that is not a monument to the daring and vision of some outstanding business man. Akron comes first to mind, synonymous with rubber, and rubber with Goodrich, Seiberling, and Firestone. In Canton you hear of Henry Timken and the tapered roller bearing. In Cincinnati you see Procter and Gamble's "Ivorydale." In Toledo the giant Libbey-Owens-Ford glass company merges the labors of three great glass manufacturers. Dayton still tells of John Patterson, who bought the National Cash Register Company in 1884 for $6,500 and tried to sell it back the next day for half that price. Less well-known but no less capable men explain Lima's locomotives, Zanesville's pottery, Chillicothe's paper, Wadsworth's matches, Newark's glassware.

It is hard for middle-class people who have seen all these accomplishments to shift over to the less individualistic concepts of the New Deal. One comes across an occasional business man who understands the economic and social changes going on around him and is fully capable of adjusting to them. One such is the brilliant banker, Cyrus Eaton, who carries on a successful guerrilla war against Wall Street from his twentieth-floor fastness in the Terminal Tower, the skyscraper with which the Van Sweringens adorned Cleveland and depressed New York Central bonds. But Eaton is the exception. Most of the business men sense the concentration of industrial and financial power that has reduced their opportunities and horizons, but few understand it. A striking example is provided by the automobile industry. Ohio is content to pour parts and accessories and steel into Detroit. It once put on the roads the Chandler, the Willys-Knight, the Cleveland, the Westcott, the Overland, the Moon, and the Winton. Ohio's volume of production is greater as an auxiliary to Detroit, but its opportunities for initiative and enterprise are less. These and similar changes might logically lead Ohio's smaller business men into the New Deal camp, but it may take another depression or two to make the logic visible to them. In the meantime they will vote for Dewey, and vote for him even more solidly than will the farmer. Only the worker can stem the anti-New Deal tide. The magnitude of that task and the progress made in it I must leave for my next and final Midwestern letter (to appear next week).

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Leftward the Course of Empire

BY F. R. SCOTT

London, September 26, by Cable

THE flying bombs have mostly stopped, and only a stray few continue to remind us of what London has been through. The Battle of Germany is engaged, and though the fight will be hard the outcome is certain. In liberated Europe the purging of collaborationists and the growth of left-wing pressures are evident. The Continent is entering upon a period of flux and change greater than anything seen since the end of the last war and likely to reach far deeper into the social and economic structure of every country except the U. S. S. R.

In this atmosphere and in the face of these possibilities the Conference of the Labor Parties of the British Commonwealth is taking place. This is the first time such a meeting has been held. Never before have the democratic Socialist and Labor third parties of the self-governing members of the Commonwealth sent their official delegates to a joint conference. The moment is ripe for leadership and for action by the forces of the left. The delegates here assembled have a unique opportunity to formulate policy on world issues and to seek the means of cooperation with similar movements in other countries. In Australia and New Zealand the parties that they represent are in power. In Great Britain the Labor Party has rendered decisive assistance to the war effort. In Canada the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is a major contender for office in both federal and provincial elections. In South Africa labor stands out as the most liberal political influence. If the parties here represented stand firmly by their principles and jointly plan to save the peace, the whole movement of the popular democratic forces everywhere in the world will be strengthened.

It cannot be said that the conference is all-inclusive. No Irish delegates are present, and there are none from India or Newfoundland or from the smaller colonial dependencies where there are the beginnings of political action by labor. In view of the difficulties of travel at this time, it was felt best to invite to the first conference only delegates from the recognized Labor and Socialist parties in the autonomous parts of the Commonwealth. From the British Labor Party we have members of the government and of the national executive of the party. Canada has sent the C. C. F. leader M. J. Coldwell and four others, including David Lewis, the party's national secretary. New Zealand is represented by Michael Moohan, national secretary of the Labor Party, and Australia by the vice-president, Jim Walsh, and one other. The three South Africans are led by Senator Henderson, national secretary of the South African Labor Party.

The program, which at the time of writing has not been entirely covered, includes the main issues which must face all progressives who gather to consider the postwar world. After a survey of the war situation in general, the alignment of political forces in the various countries represented was taken up. Naturally the place of the British Labor Party in the Churchill coalition was of special concern, and while the reasons for that coalition were fully appreciated, there was warm approval of the decision of the national executive of the party, announced during the conference, that Labor would fight in the next British elections as an independent party. Once this vital choice is made, the whole complexion of British politics begins to change, and while the coalition is not likely to end until the defeat of Germany, the preparations for a clear breach and a fresh appeal to the electorate have already begun in the minds of the party members if not in the party organization. It is likely that the next national conference of the Labor Party, which has been postponed till December 11, will formulate a positive program on which to go to the people, who for nine years have not exercised the right to vote.

The chief topics of discussion were the peace settlement and problems of political and economic reconstruction. The treatment to be given Germany was a matter for debate. In North America the question appears a good deal more academic than it does to people who have experienced the blitz and the flying bomb. The issue seemed to turn round the choice between a soft and a hard peace; but a deeper examination of the attitudes made it clear that no one wanted a foolishly sentimental peace and no one refused to admit that the ultimate aim was the development of democratic institutions in Germany and the integration of the German people in the new world system. Certain hard terms, such as the destruction of the Nazi system, the trial of war criminals, the total disarmament of the people, a temporary occupation, and restitution of stolen properties, were accepted. But the conference would have been untrue to the Socialist tradition if it had not looked to the eventual resurrection of trade-union, cooperative, and Socialist movements among the German masses and to the possibility of friendly dealings with such movements.

On the long-term political issues there was emphatic agreement: nothing short of an over-all association or

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league of states with coercive power against aggressors and firm obligations on the part of members would suffice. Delegates from every country denounced the supine policies of the old parties and the great powers under the old League. And their arguments were fortified by Mr. Churchill's letter in the London *Times,* addressed to Sir Robert Cecil on his eightieth birthday, saying that we could have made the League work if we had wished. Since the building of the new world association will depend so much upon the continued cooperation of the leading powers among the United Nations, it was but natural that the conference should stress the importance of maintaining the present alliance and of overcoming whatever differences may arise from time to time among Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. At the same time any notion that a mere alliance could last unless transformed into a genuine collective system inclusive of all nations was strongly condemned.

Consideration of the position of India and the dependent territories in the Commonwealth resulted in the affirmation of two principles that are of general interest. The first was that India must be granted its freedom as soon as the alternative government can be arranged with the Indian representatives; the second was that dependent colonies everywhere must be brought under a new international authority to which their present administration will be answerable. There was nothing of Mr. Churchill's "what we have we'll hold" attitude at this conference, and there were frequent references to the remarkable progress made by backward peoples under the Soviet Union. The denial of racial superiority and the duty of aiding the colonies to attain self-government are tenets of all the parties represented.

The last sessions were devoted to a matter of major importance—the fostering of close relations with Labor and Socialist movements in other parts of the world. At every turn in the discussion it was clear that the safety and prosperity of the Commonwealth countries depend on world developments. Unless other nations, as well as these five, move in the direction of full employment, democratic government, and international responsibility, the outlook is indeed black. Unless the antiquated policies and institutions of monopoly capitalism are replaced everywhere by democratic vision and economic planning for plenty, another world conflict can scarcely be prevented. It was agreed, therefore, that as soon as possible a new Socialist International should be created and an effort made to weld the progressive forces of the world into a dynamic movement. If this conference does nothing more than dramatize this possibility, it will have been a success.

If American liberals, trade unionists, and progressives can feel that they are part of the same world of thought and action, the chances of a real union of forces are immeasurably increased. The worldwide unity of reaction we have seen to our cost. The unity of forward-looking minds has to be built. With Labor governments in Australia and New Zealand, with the British Labor Party on the threshold of power, with new forces upsurging in every liberated country in Europe and a new spirit of cooperation in the U. S. S. R., there has never been a more propitious moment for proclaiming the common interests of the common people the world over.

In the Wind

EX-GOVERNOR TALMADGE of Georgia evidently has some difficulty in pronouncing such names as Sidney Hillman, James Loeb, Jr., and Reinhold Niebuhr. In his weekly newspaper, the *Statesman* ("Editor—The People; Associate Editor—Eugene Talmadge"), he lists the members of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, and after each non-English name puts a question such as "Can you pronounce the above name and tell where he is from?" After Dr. Niebuhr's unmistakably German name he says, "I wish that I had a Russian dictionary."

BY HECK DEPARTMENT: That old sod-buster Louis Bromfield, the food expert, is listed as a featured speaker at the annual convention of the Ohio State Realtors this week. The announcement says his 1,500-acre farm "is organized as a cooperative in which the employers share profits." The thing is obviously a typographical error, but it's the kind that could happen only to a Republican.

A POLL OF 72,000 CITIZENS by the Wichita, Kansas, *Beacon* showed that three out of every five did not know the name of either candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

DON'T WORRY TOO MUCH about the familiar cry that corporate taxes should be reduced in order to permit accumulation of capital for post-war production. The monthly business letter of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York says, "In general, corporations have experienced an appreciable increase in working capital during the war," which should "serve to reduce the demands for investment funds on the one hand and add to the supply of funds seeking investment on the other."

FESTUNG EUROPA: We do not share the racist views of Lord Vansittart, but evidently the editor of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* does. Thus: "If they defeat us without killing us all, they will only breed a new generation of German fanatics—millions of boys of the Horst Wessel type. It is quite clear that our enemies want to destroy the 'German idea' of National Socialism, but they will never be able to destroy it if they let any Germans live."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Justice Black After Seven Years

BY IRVING M. ENGEL

> In his opinion, which will ring with power as long as liberty and justice are cherished in our country, Justice Black . . . asserted, with moderated eloquence, great American principles of American liberty. The whole document ought to be read by all citizens who care for the perpetuity of the Republic.

THE quotation is from "The Republic," by Charles A. Beard. The reference is to the opinion written by Justice Hugo L. Black in the Chambers case (*Chambers* v. *Florida*, February, 1940).

That Hugo Black could express himself with "moderated eloquence" will come as a surprise to those who were influenced by the articles about him which flooded our press after the announcement of his appointment to the Supreme Court. The previous high-water mark in opposition had been reached when Brandeis, another great liberal, was nominated, and the seven then living ex-presidents of the American Bar Association signed a written protest against his appointment. However, not even Brandeis was greeted with such a flood of abuse as Black.

The charge was made that Black, before his election to the Senate, had been a mere police-court lawyer, and that he lacked legal training and experience for the bench. As a matter of fact, he had been one of the outstanding trial lawyers of Alabama. With no big corporate clients, his professional income, nevertheless, was one of the largest in the state. He was also said to lack education. Actually, although largely self-educated, he was a learned man, especially in the fields of economics, history, and literature.

The situation was not without its amusing aspects. The New York *Herald Tribune*, bemoaning Black's "meager technical equipment," said, "The nomination is as menacing as it is unfit." A few pages away, however, in the same issue, the paper's Washington correspondent described Black as "one of the most learned members of the Senate," whose "convictions came to him by a reasoned, intellectual process rather than by a natural or opportunist sympathy. . . . The Senate learned to respect his industry and intelligence."

The storm was whipped to a new fury when, several weeks after his appointment, it was disclosed that for a brief period prior to his campaign for the Senate in 1926 Black had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan and after his election had accepted or failed to return a "passport" signifying life membership. For many liberals this was one charge which could not be condoned. However, to persons acquainted with his origin in Clay County, Alabama, where all white Protestants were expected to join the Klan as a matter of course, the amazing thing was not that he had perfunctorily accepted membership in the Klan but that in thought and deed he should be so opposed to Klan principles. Much publicity was given to the fact that after his election to the Senate he had made a speech to the Klan; what was overlooked was that even in that speech he warned against lawlessness and religious intolerance. His lack of sympathy for the aims of the Klan appeared further in his strong support of Al Smith in 1928 and in the fact that he stumped the state in 1930 against Tom Heflin, a rabid Catholic-baiter. These activities earned for him the violent opposition of the Klan.

Soon after taking his seat on the bench Black showed his independence and the strength of his convictions by being the sole dissenter in several important cases. Immediately his critics renewed their attack. The climax was an article, The Supreme Court Today, by Marquis W. Childs, in *Harper's* for May, 1938. Among other things, Mr. Childs said:

> During his brief service on the bench Justice Black has caused his colleagues, again "liberal" and "conservative" alike, acute discomfort and embarrassment. This has had nothing to do with the issue of the Ku Klux Klan, which was more or less irrelevant. . . . It has grown out of the lack of legal knowledge and experience, deficiencies in background and training, that have led him into blunders which have shocked his colleagues on the highest court.

This was the last time a responsible journalist repeated the baseless charge of Black's incompetence. For within a few days after the article appeared, Black had dramatic vindication. On a point on which three months before he had been the sole dissenter, the Supreme Court, by a vote of seven to two, now reversed itself and sustained Black.

The point involved had been laid down in 1842 in the celebrated case of *Swift* v. *Tyson*, when it was decided that on questions of common law federal courts were not bound by the decisions of the highest court of the state where the cause of action arose but were free to apply their own views. This produced two systems of law, one for cases tried in the state courts and another for cases tried in the federal courts. In many instances the decision in a given case would depend, not upon the merits of the controversy, but upon whether or not one

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of the parties could take the case into the federal court. The result was not only confusion but, often, injustice. Nevertheless, the rule of *Swift* v. *Tyson,* although severely criticized, remained in effect for nearly 100 years.

When it was last applied, in February, 1938, in the case of *New York Life Insurance Company* v. *Garner,* Black was the sole dissenter. Three months later the case of *Erie Railroad Company* v. *Tompkins* was decided. That was an action for damages by a party injured on the right of way of the defendant railroad company. The question was whether the rule to be applied should be that of the federal court, where the action had been brought, or that of Pennsylvania, where the injury occurred. The Supreme Court, with only two dissenting justices, held that the doctrine of the Pennsylvania courts should be applied, whether the case was tried in the federal court or the state court. The decision in *Swift* v. *Tyson* was expressly overruled, as "an unconstitutional assumption of power by courts of the United States which no lapse of time or respectable array of opinion should make us hesitate to correct." Thus a few months after his appointment the court adopted Black's views and set aside that unsound although century-old decision.

During the past seven years the Supreme Court has made great strides in liberalizing its decisions and correcting some of the errors which had crept into our system. This progress has been due in some measure, of course, to the appointment of other liberals to fill later vacancies. However, much of the credit must go to Hugo Black. Of the utmost importance, for example, has been his position with reference to the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. That clause provides that no state shall deprive a *person* of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. After some years of indecision the Supreme Court held in 1886 that the word "person" included corporations. By virtue of that ruling the federal courts for the next fifty years assumed authority to pass on all efforts of the states to regulate industry or commerce within their borders. Since during that period most progressive legislation emanated from the states, this meant that practically every regulatory statute and every innovation in the law had to run the gauntlet of the federal courts, frequently with disastrous results.

Black's position on this question has been clear and unequivocal. In one of his early dissents, the Connecticut General Life Insurance case (1938), he wrote a

"WHAT ABOUT STOPPING 'EM UP RIGHT NOW?"

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learned and vigorous opinion in support of the proposition that the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to corporations and that the earlier decisions to the contrary should be overruled. While there is much to be said for Black's bold position, the majority of the court has not yet come over to his way of thinking. However, Black went still farther and maintained that even if the due-process clause were applicable it did not authorize the federal court, in passing upon state regulations of commerce or industry, to substitute its views for those of the state body; on the contrary, he indicated, the action of the state should be upset only when it clearly appeared to be confiscatory.

In this contention Black has now been sustained, and the principles for which he argued have become the law of the land. This appears, by way of illustration, in the decisions involving utility rates. In the Indianapolis Water Company case (1938), the Supreme Court, with Black as the sole dissenter, held that certain water rates adopted by a state commission violated the due-process clause—and were therefore unconstitutional—because they did not assure the company a return of 6 per cent on the "reproduction cost" of its system, and that in arriving at reproduction cost the then rising trend of prices should be taken into consideration. Black argued, first, that the due-process clause did not apply to the Water Company because it was a corporation, and, second, that the clause, even if applicable to corporations, did not empower the Supreme Court to impose upon the states its views as to the formulas to be followed in rate-making. Black's second contention was sustained by a majority of the court a few years later in the Pipeline case (*Federal Power Commission* v. *Natural Gas Pipeline Company*, March, 1942), which held in effect that rate-making bodies are not required to follow any single formula or combination of formulas, and that courts cannot intervene in the absence of a clear showing that the limits of due process have been overstepped.

As a result of the court's adoption, to that extent, of Black's views on this subject, rate-making bodies for the first time in several decades can now attempt to reach a reasonable solution of their problems without having to guess what will be the views of the Supreme Court. As Black put it, "The problem of rate-making is for the administrative experts, not the courts."

In the Indianapolis Water Company case it is worth noting that although the majority opinion was favorable to the water company and awarded it a new trial, the company has never taken advantage of its victory by bringing the case up for retrial in the lower court. It is commonly understood that Black's analysis of the water company's case in his nineteen-page opinion was so devastating that the company thought discretion the better part of valor, and has since then been operating, profitably and without objection, under the rates which the majority opinion had found to be confiscatory and unconstitutional.

It is in the field of civil liberties, however, that Black has made his greatest mark. No other Supreme Court justice—not even Holmes—has been such an outspoken champion of the rights of the individual, especially the individual who is poor, weak, and defenseless. In the Chambers case, already mentioned, the Supreme Court set aside the conviction of a Negro defendant in Florida because it was based on a confession which had been wrung from him by five days of unremitting "third degree." Black's opinion in that case, which was so praised by Beard, bids fair to become a permanent part of the literature of our democracy. A statement by a prominent metropolitan newspaper that it was "far and away the most direct, sweeping, and brilliantly written application of the Fourteenth Amendment to human lives that has yet come from our highest courts," was quoted approvingly in the *Catholic World*. Two sentences in particular from Black's opinion will bear repetition here:

> Under our constitutional system courts stand against any winds that blow as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, outnumbered, or because they are non-conforming victims of prejudice and public excitement. . . . No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this court than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed, or persuasion.

Black's attitude toward freedom of the press and of religion appears in the series of cases involving the sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses. The last of these, the Barnette case (1943), overruled the Gobitis decision (1940) and held invalid a flag-saluting statute which had been based on it. Black's concurring opinion said: "Neither our domestic tranquillity in peace nor our martial effort in war depends on compelling little children to participate in a ceremony which ends in nothing for them but a fear of spiritual condemnation."

The story of Black's progress from Clay County, Alabama, with its meager educational facilities, to a place on the highest court in the land is a typical American saga. Taking his seat on the bench under an unprecedented burden of calumny and abuse, he has not only demonstrated legal capacity and craftsmanship of the highest order but has brought to bear a deep and understanding knowledge of historical, economic, and social backgrounds. Above all, he has shown unerring feeling for the fundamentals of our system and zeal in protecting the rights of the individual under that system. In seven short years he has made a lasting imprint upon our system of jurisprudence.

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Polls, Propaganda, Politics

September Findings

A REVIEW of the results of national and regional polls published during September leads to the conclusion that Roosevelt's probable majority has gone up a little since our last summary was printed in *The Nation* of September 2.

The Gallup release for September 25 summarizes the changes during the preceding month as a gain for Roosevelt in twenty-seven states and for Dewey in fourteen. The figures are condensed in the following table:

	August 23, 1944		*September 25, 1944*	
	States	*Electoral Votes*	*States*	*Electoral Votes*
Safely Democratic	17	157	19	194
Safely Republican	13	104	12	93
Divided (47-53 per cent close)	18	270	17	244
	48	531	48	531

The election is obviously going to be difficult to predict, since nearly half the electoral votes come from states in which the advantage shown by the leading candidate is less than the margin of error of the usual poll. In the states that do show a clear trend, however, the change since August favors the Democrats, who seem to have picked up thirty-seven electoral votes, while Dewey has lost eleven.

Newspaper accounts of the *Fortune* poll suggested that Roosevelt lost a lot of ground during one week in September. A study of the facts indicates that a different interpretation is possible. The *Fortune* release of September 7 showed 54.6 per cent for Roosevelt. This conclusion was based on answers to a question suggesting four possible attitudes toward Roosevelt, as follows: (1) "Roosevelt has done an excellent job and it's very important that he should be President during the next four years"; (2) "while he has made mistakes and has been in office a long time, it is still better to elect Roosevelt President again for the next four years"; (3) "although Roosevelt has done some good things, he has been President long enough and the country would be better off to elect Dewey for the next four years"; (4) "it would be a very bad thing for this country to reelect Roosevelt for another four years."

The next *Fortune* release, on September 15, showed only 49.2 per cent for Roosevelt. The choices on which this report was based were about Dewey: (1) "Dewey has an excellent record and it would be the best thing for the country to elect him President"; (2) "while Dewey may not be ideal for the job, it certainly would be better to have him than Roosevelt for the next four years"; (3) "although Dewey may have some very good qualities, he still could not do the job as well as Roosevelt during the next four years"; (4) "it would be a very bad thing for this country to elect Dewey as President for the next four years."

In the earlier poll 4.5 per cent answered, "Don't know"; so if we follow the usual custom of this column and consider only those who did express a choice, 57 per cent chose one or the other of the two statements favoring Roosevelt. A week later, with the question centering on Dewey, 6.3 per cent answered, "Don't know," which means that 53 per cent of the respondents supported one of the pro-Roosevelt alternatives. The editors of the *Fortune* survey believe the drop in Roosevelt's popularity due to (1) a waning of the enthusiasm which accompanied the liberation of Paris, and (2) the Dulles-Hull conference, suggesting a non-partisan peace. However, the changed form of the question should be considered. To say, "Roosevelt has done an excellent job," is not exactly the same thing as to say, "It would be a very bad thing for this country to elect Dewey." The truth is probably best obtained by averaging the results of the two forms of question; this would show that about 55 per cent of all who have made up their minds now prefer Roosevelt.

On August 19 we noted that the *Fortune* poll in June showed 56 per cent for Roosevelt, while Gallup indicated a bare 51 per cent. With increasing samples, the two are coming closer together. The *Fortune* poll now gives a slightly smaller Democratic margin, while Gallup's estimate is rising. The approximation is strengthened by the recent Crossley findings, which give Roosevelt 52 per cent, Dewey 48.

This year only two newspapers are conducting local polls —the Minneapolis Sunday *Tribune* and the Des Moines Sunday *Register*. A comparison of September sentiment with earlier findings has been published only by the *Register*. Its release of September 17 showed 55 per cent for Dewey as compared with 56 in July. Gallup agrees in counting Iowa as safely Republican.

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50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE DEATH of Dr. [Oliver Wendell] Holmes has closed many careers in one end . . . He was one of that rare class of minds to which their environment is not a limitation.—*October 11, 1894.*

SO MUCH ATTENTION was attracted by Judge Jenkins's injunction forbidding the employees of the Northern Pacific Railroad to strike last December that the recent review of the proceedings by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals will be carefully read by all interested. The substance of the decision is this: Railway employees have a legal right to leave the service of the company either as individuals or by concerted action, provided it is a question of wages or the like, and if no intent to cripple the road can be proved against them. If the result of such action is to embarrass the receivers, it must be taken as incidental unless specially so indicated.—*October 18, 1894.*

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 28—A few days ago Mme. Sarah Bernhardt produced at the Theater of the Renaissance, which has become her theater, the "Femme de Claude," one of the most extraordinary plays of Alexandre Dumas. . . . Though time has not spared the ideal Sarah who played in "Hernani" and in "Andromaque," though she has felt, like Athalie, "des ans l'irréparable outrage," she still has something left which nothing can alter or destroy—an innate genius, an indescribable grace and delicacy.—*October 18, 1894.*

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Russia's Resurrection

BY PIERRE COT

IT IS difficult to give my impressions of the U. S. S. R. in a few paragraphs. I cannot talk about my mission, for I have not yet reported to the authorities which sent me. However, as the Soviet Union received me as a loyal friend and the government facilitated my studies by giving me always the information I sought and taking me wherever I wanted to go, I was able during my four months' trip to gather some interesting information which I am happy to share with *Nation* readers.

On my arrival in Moscow I found a world alive with a constructive spirit and social ferment—in spite of the war. It is impossible to imagine a country more completely absorbed by the present struggle, or one where each citizen is contributing more to the war effort. Nevertheless, life goes on in Moscow, as in all the Soviet Union. The people work and fight to save what they have created, but in the evening theaters and movies are crowded, libraries are alive with students—mostly girls, as the boys are at the front—and one may go to various expositions of modern painting and sculpture. To give you an idea of the quality of the entertainment offered to the Moscow public, I will mention a few of the "shows" running in the city while I was there—five Shakespeare plays, one by Calderon de la Barca, one by Lope de Vega, a ballet based on "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and adaptations of "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "Eugénie Grandet."

The strongest impression I received was of the degree of transformation and elevation of the people. I visited the Soviet Union in 1933, when I was Minister of Aviation; so I am in a position to make comparisons and judge what has been accomplished. The effort of the Soviet Union is really the effort of the Soviet peoples, the peoples which compose the Union. The secret of their resistance in 1941-42 and of their present victories is the participation of everyone, from the most humble to the greatest, in this effort. Conscience has attained here its greatest influence. The people are serious; they realize what they are doing, and they know what the world expects of them.

The U. S. S. R. has suffered immense losses. The country has been plundered; its inhabitants have been massacred. Let us not forget that for three years the Soviet Union supported almost alone the weight of the German armies and that these armies were supplied by the whole of German industry; even now the Red Army is fighting against four-fifths of the Wehrmacht. The results of this horrible war are visible in the complete destruction of many Soviet cities, but the courage and ingenuity of the Soviet people have been equal to the circumstances. In Leningrad, during the siege, several thousand persons died of cold and hunger, resolved that the birthplace of the Revolution, the city of Lenin and Kirov, should not fall into the hands of the enemy. One can safely estimate the material destruction in the Soviet Union up to date to be as high as 250 billion gold rubles—that is, twenty-five times greater than the destruction in France and Belgium during the last war.

It is very moving to see how the people go about their effort of reconstruction. I visited a little town that had been entirely destroyed by the Germans. What was left of the population had already begun to rebuild it, and as all the men were at the front, the women were doing the work. Women, little children, very old men, very young girls were all busy on the reconstruction of their town. They asked no help from the state, for they knew that the state's economic resources must go to the war effort. With twisted nails, some old lumber, some automobile parts abandoned by the Germans, they had built first a small brick kiln, a carpenter shop, a tool shop, and with these primitive industries they were going on to rebuild their town, according to plans prepared by the regional administration and discussed by the village Soviet. What they managed to do with so little was miraculous. A hospital for eighty beds had already been built, with an operating room and a maternity ward. Schools are usually deemed the first necessity, then public buildings and cooperative restaurants, lastly private dwellings. Until houses are ready for them, the people live in dugouts if necessary. The people are poor, they work incessantly, but the children have rosy cheeks, no epidemics break out, no one is cold, and no one goes hungry. The ingenuity of the Soviet peoples has risen above the ruin of war, and it is thus that the country rises from the grave in which the Germans thought they had buried it.

I found Soviet newspapers very conservative in their estimate of the number of persons massacred by the enemy. For example, at Odessa, which I visited thirty-four days after the Nazis had left, the number of victims was given by the Soviet papers as 200,000 because 200,000 bodies were found. Yet before the war the city had 600,000 inhabitants, and fewer than 100,000 are left. Those who could get away did so; many were deported to Germany. The real number of the victims is still un-

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known. I saw with my own eyes open trenches filled with the bodies of old men, women, and little children who had been machined-gunned by the Germans and Rumanians. When the children were not killed they were thrown alive into the trenches with the dead bodies of their parents. I saw children's bodies which bore no sign of wounds. Another method used to wipe out the population of Odessa quickly was to load a raft with victims, take it out to sea, and bring it back empty. One day a train was filled with children whom the Nazis said they were sending to Germany, but they found it easier to spray the train with gasoline and then set fire to it. These are examples of what fascism can do to human beings—of the degree of depravity that has been reached by the "master race."

The beautiful city of Odessa has been three-fourths destroyed. Bridges, schools, factories, water works, and power plants have been completely demolished. But the few inhabitants who remain have shown admirable courage and ardor in rebuilding their city. When I was there the streets had been cleared, certain indispensable works of reconstruction had been finished and twenty schools reopened, one part of the water supply was functioning, a sanitary system had been installed, and so on. In addition, the public gardens had been plowed and reseeded. The population was working day and night, without rest, to get the city back in shape.

It was interesting to learn how the surviving inhabitants escaped alive. Odessa is built on immense ancient quarries which form a labyrinth of catacombs under the city, with numerous outlets in the town and out in the country. The Germans never found out where all the openings were, though they used gas for the purpose. So here, in this natural underground, the resistance of Odessa lived, supplied by the peasants, who came in through the secret entrances. Under the leadership of the Communists a real guerrilla army was organized, which helped refugees, killed German and Rumanian sentries, blew up enemy positions, and the like. I would need a book to describe the deeds of the Partisans.

During 1941 and 1942 the Soviet Union lost two-thirds of its industrial capacity, but by the end of 1944 its capacity will be back almost to the level of 1940. This miraculous accomplishment is due principally to the development of resources in the Urals and Soviet Asia. I studied with great care the problem of reconstruction, for that was part of my mission. The Russian program is integrated in the general plan for the development of the country, since the Soviet Union believes not only in restoring what existed before the war but in continuing its march forward. In 1940 the general index of industrial production was 1,150 per cent of what it was in 1913 and 750 per cent of what it was in 1928. As a result of the integration of "reconstruction" in the general plan, I believe that in 1961—that is to say, twenty years after the German aggression and fifteen or sixteen years after the establishment of peace in the world—the U. S. S. R. will have achieved a higher level of development than it would have if there had been no war.

The causes of this extraordinary vitality are found, in the first place, in the system of "plans," which permits a rational utilization of all the forces of production, and, in the second place, in the character of the social regime. Take, for example, Stalingrad, an industrial city that was completely destroyed by the enemy. By the end of 1944, less than two years after its liberation, 45 per cent of Stalingrad's industrial capacity will be restored. How can this be achieved? Through the willingness of workers to have the factories rebuilt before their homes and to let comfort wait until production has been resumed.

In the Soviet Union cultural development goes hand in hand with economic development, or rather goes ahead of it. The U. S. S. R. is the new home of humanism. One might have thought that in the 1944 budget all credits not allotted to the war effort would go to the reconstruction of factories and cooperative farms, but actually the credits for the rehabilitation of economic life amount to 48 billion rubles and those for social work and cultural development to 54 billion. This is one of the many lessons the Soviet Union can teach us.

The U. S. S. R. hopes that a strong, democratic France will take its rightful place at the head of the progressive nations of Europe. The Soviet people have warm feelings for the France of the French Revolution, the France of the Commune, of the Popular Front. They never have believed that the traitors of France reflected the sentiments of the French people. A democratic France definitely repudiating the elements which inspired the policy of intervention against the Soviet Union in 1922, the sabotage of collective security, and the Munich betrayal, a France liberated from fascism, can count on the friendship of the U. S. S. R.

After the war the Soviet Union will surprise the world by its wisdom and moderation. It desires peace for itself

The Temperature in Italy

"Today, as a result of the coming to a head of certain historical trends, the people are bolder in their plans for the future than most of the political parties. If, instead of giving the signal and blazing the trail, the political parties are going to drag along after the masses, they will become merely a burden. In that case they will have signed their own death sentence, and new political groupings will rise on the horizon, springing from the fertile soil of defeat, of Partisan and volunteer fighting, and of the heroic people's thirst for social justice."—An editorial by Leonida Repaci in *Il Tempo*, Rome, September 21.

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and for others. It wants to continue the vast work of cultural and social development it has begun. It will not take any territory which it does not own (frontiers of 1941). But it will demand that the war criminals be punished and that fascism be destroyed. It will work for an international organization which will make all future German aggression impossible and guarantee to all peoples liberty and peace. The two bases of this policy will be the democratic European order and the entente between the United States and the Soviet Union. Since Teheran the rapprochement of these two powers has been the dominant factor in international policies. Their friendship will be a great force for peace.

Visiting the Soviet Union as a simple democrat faithful to the ideals of the French Revolution, I found that through sacrifice and effort the liberty of peoples, the equality of races, and the fraternity of men were being forged there.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON JUNE 20, two weeks after the invasion of Normandy began, the German commander-in-chief, Marshal Rundstedt, sent some lengthy instructions to his divisions. Under the title "Learned in Battle" they passed on to the commanding officers the new knowledge gained from experience. Several copies of this paper have fallen into the hands of the Allies and have probably been of more or less professional interest to the Anglo-American staffs. One of the points made, however, has a bearing outside the purely military sphere. The Allies, the Marshal declared, had attained such a degree of air superiority that railroads from 150 to 180 miles behind the front were paralyzed. Even the great highways within this radius, he said, under the new conditions were highly unreliable for supply transportation and troop movements. "Railroad transportation can scarcely ever be brought nearer to the front than 200 to 250 kilometers."

If that is correct, from the moment that the front was pushed up to the German border the most important section of Germany, the Ruhr, must have experienced industrial paralysis. For the Ruhr region begins 20 miles behind the border and ends 100 miles from it. And clearly the disruption of its railroads would mean the complete stoppage of its industrial production. Even if it is true that some of the region's armament factories have been transplanted to other provinces, the coal mines could not be moved. Coal from the Ruhr, however, supplies three-fourths of the entire German demand; if it cannot be delivered as needed the Reich is lost, whatever happens at the front. Now that the supply from France, Belgium, and Luxembourg has been cut off, scarcely a factory, railroad, power house, or synthetic-oil plant in the country can run without the Ruhr coal.

That the approach of such a crisis is recognized seems to be confirmed by a notice in the Essen *Nationalzeitung* of September 12 informing the public that all trucks and vehicles in the province in which coal can be carried must be used from now on, without exception, for the vital transportation of coal in bulk. From now on there will be no more vehicles for retail delivery; private consumers must fetch their coal themselves in small quantities from the dealer, using wheelbarrows or sacks. A similar announcement was published in Vienna some days earlier. Apparently all trucks that can be used for coal in any part of the country are being sent to the Ruhr to bolster an emergency transportation system.

Another sign that industrial activity is dying out far behind the front is furnished by the appearance of *Volksgrenadier* regiments and divisions. We do not yet know much about them, but this seems to be the idea: When the war draws near to a province, the pressure of events gradually forces the factories to stop operation and the workers are consequently released. The able-bodied men among them, as their numbers mount, are being collected into regiments of so-called "people's grenadiers" to fight in the "people's war." This plan for the wholesale induction of workers rendered jobless by the nearness of the front was announced by Deputy Gauleiter Schaller of the Rhineland in a speech printed in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of September 3. "Thousands of men," he said, "have already been sworn in." On September 17 the same paper printed a dispatch from its Berlin correspondent about the preparations for the people's war. This said:

> An entirely new German defense unit has been formed, of which no details are known except that its members are called "people's grenadiers." Their special task in western Germany is to protect the vital installations in the Rhine and Ruhr districts. The first units were sworn in on Thursday, September 14.

While the able-bodied men of the closed factories are being organized in the People's Grenadier regiments, workers in poorer physical condition are being taken into another "novel unit." The name given to this is *Ersatzheer-Korps* (Substitute Army Corps). According to an account in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of August 29, the new corps consists of workmen and clerks "who have been at the front during this war or who fought in the last," and of men formerly deferred for physical defects. For some time these people have been taking a refresher training course in their free time. And now we learn from the Stockholm newspaper *Allehanda* of September 6 that Substitute Army Corps No. 2 has taken up a position on the Westwall.

Organization of the "people's war" is, in truth, in full swing.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

American Morning

THE WORLD OF WASHINGTON IRVING. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

SAM HOUSTON, following the ideal of the natural man, ran away as a youth to live with Cherokees, and studied the "Iliad" in the virgin forests. Later he had himself painted as Marius, in a toga among ruined columns. This was the public American of the first national period, self-conscious, attitudinizing, a European still, but ready to conquer with mind and hand the rich wilderness and to breed a new race in its plains and clearings.

"The World of Washington Irving" is thronged with eager and curious men pouring out from the colonial seaboard between 1800 and 1840 to contend in the new land with savages, animals, and primitive nature. The plain men, the settlers and pioneers, kept going, were not writers, are little heard from, but Brooks draws in rich detail from the reports of explorers, painters, and naturalists—Bartram, Wilson, Lewis, Peale, Audubon—the anthropologists Catlin and Schoolcraft, romantic visitors like Crèvecœur and Châteaubriand, the novelists Cooper, Brown, Brackenridge, Simms, and Kennedy, and a host of minor figures. Washington Irving himself made a tour of the prairies when he came back from Europe, and his life of Columbus was a symbol of the age.

D. H. Lawrence said in his own essay on Cooper that when you want emotion safely, nature is the thing; and MacLeish in his "Frescoes" used Lewis's report to Jefferson as a rebuke to the ideologues. Brooks, who saw with such particularity Emerson's garden in Concord, is intoxicated by the wealth of images, still precise and lucent, of the pathfinders of a whole continent. Bartram, stewing a trout's head in orange juice, watched the paroquets flock above him and sunset streak the embroidered savannahs; Audubon sought in his pirogue the pink water hyacinth, and in his old age, in the Nebraska and Dakota of the future, identified for the first time the yellow-headed troupial.

It was a time, too, of cultivation and transplanting. Jefferson smuggled Piedmontese rice over the Alps in his pocket, made his estate in Virginia a vast agricultural laboratory for the improvement of European strains. The weeping willows along the Housatonic sprang from a cutting given by Pope himself at Twickenham to the first president of Columbia, and at Washington Irving's Sunnyside estate ivy from Scott's Abbotsford was planted by Mrs. Renwick, the Jeanie of one of Burns's songs, the sister of Francis Jeffrey, and the grandmother of the architect of Grace Church in New York.

These are the conjunctions that Van Wyck Brooks loves, the romance of origin, of lineage, of unexpected and particular association in time and space, and they run like Virginia creepers through the book, with six hundred indexed names of people, from Edwin Abbey to Zeuxis, and as many more names of places unindexed, and as many more names of books. We know, even though we may not remember it later, who sat with whom at the opening of Coleridge's "Remorse," who lodged with a family, friends of Da Ponte, where one of the daughters later became the mistress of Turgenev, and what Founding Fathers Edgar Allan Poe saw as a child.

To understand Greek tragedy, Taine said, we must see the Greeks as they were, men half-naked under the open sky, waited on by slaves, eating anchovies in oil as their food, and cultivating in leisure their minds and their bodies. To represent the American culture of those decades, Van Wyck Brooks shows us what are really habitat groups, like those in Peale's museum, of writers and characters in books, men picturesque in their persons or accomplishments, and at their moments of greatest rapport with the environment.

For the other moments, dramatic moments of conflict, suffering, passion, bitterness, and doubt, "The World of Washington Irving" has little place. And there is no place, of course, for legislative, political, and judicial controversies —the partisan violence against Jefferson, the question of the bank, the War of 1812—or for all the intellectual, philosophical, and religious problems which cannot be expressed in a metaphor or a quoted sentence or taken care of by an anecdote. And none for the influence of writers upon writers that came through literary forms and ideas on the printed page, nor for all that subsequent writers have said in analysis of those earlier ones, nor for all that is documentary, theoretical, statistical, unpicturesque. The spirit of the book is warmly left-democratic, but Brooks's anti-intellectualism makes it hard, in a different time and a changed country, to get back significantly to the period he describes.

Obviously such an approach cannot do justice to the complexity of Jefferson's thought, although it can to the unbelievable variety of his accomplishments. In discussing Jefferson's democracy Brooks minimizes the influence of the French encyclopedists and English philosophers, and talks instead of a Virginian boyhood and of racial memories of the forest moots of our pre-Christian ancestors. The treatment of Poe, on the other hand, is literary and critical, because this permits Brooks to continue explicitly his attack upon those writers who cannot be at home in their environment. Poor Poe, certainly, was not a "primary" writer drawing sustenance from the soil, the family, public life, and popular wisdom, and he helped father that line of writers abroad, the "sick" men, the figures of "Axel's Castle," who are Brooks's particular personal devils.

"The things of a man for which we visit him were done in the dark and the cold," Oliver Allston quoted from Emerson, but Brooks is writing here of an America with "the clear sun shining, the fresh air blowing," of "man in the morning of time with his best future all before him." "The World of Washington Irving" is the complementary affirmation to Brooks's bitter public, almost official condemnation in recent years of some other voyagers, voyagers of the mind

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rather than the body, who made spiritual symbols of the very physical voyages he is here describing, writers who lived in the depths without which life is illusory, writers who had their own kind of courage, not born of "the strength and power of health," but of sickness and disorder, and yet who contributed, quite as surely as Cooper and Washington Irving, to the enlargement of the human spirit.

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS

Candidate

DEWEY, AN AMERICAN OF THIS CENTURY. By Stanley Walker. Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.50.

THOMAS EDMUND DEWEY was born at seven o'clock in the morning of March 24, 1902, over a general store on the edge of the Shiawassee River, a small stream which meanders through the town of Owosso, Michigan," in case you have been wondering. "Owosso," again according to Mr. Walker, "is a quiet, pleasant place where the people's yards are filled with trees and flowers."

Mr. Walker, former city editor of the New York *Herald Tribune,* author of "Mrs. Astor's Horse" and other works, now writes conversation pieces for the *Tribune* about how nice it is in the autumn on Fifth Avenue and about the condition of the squirrels in Central Park. So his copy has a real folksy touch, and after you have read a few pages of this "Meet our candidate," the place is redolent with the smell of clambakes, barbecues, and fried-chicken suppers, and in the distance is the sound of a lusty baritone singing, "I'll be switched the hay ain't pitched."

Those who had hoped that this local-yokel stuff had gone out with the Coolidge Administration are in for a big disappointment when they come upon a picture of Mr. Dewey as a farm hand—and look! no mustache—at the age of seventeen, when he worked one summer for Earl Putnam, who also has his picture in the book talking to his ex-hired man. In justice to the author it must be said that Mr. Walker hastens to say that his candidate doesn't spend all his time outdoors pitching hay. He also plays golf, shooting around one hundred, and plays softball on Lowell Thomas's team, though his stance at the bat is not too good.

About the mustache, it seems he grew that while on a bicycle trip in France after he was graduated at the Columbia Law School in 1925. The mustache was "at first a tentative, unpromising wisp, but soon full-blown and bristly. . . . From the first Dewey liked the mustache and did his own trimming." Mrs. Dewey, then Miss Hutt, "approved it," and still likes it we presume.

You get the idea from the account of the bicycle trip in France that besides growing a mustache Mr. Dewey picked up a lot of the inside stuff about international affairs that makes his speeches on that subject so crystal clear. Just before going on this momentous trip Mr. Dewey sang in a synagogue. Mr. Walker admits this, but says that his candidate in those days sang in all sorts of places: "he would have been delighted to lift up his rich baritone at a convention of the Improved Order of Redmen, a Tammany clambake, the Union League Club, the cops' dinner, or a flag-raising in Union Square."

Nearly everyone likes Mr. Dewey tremendously, including Mr. Dewey, but it turns out that there are some meanies running around the Stork Club and other high-priced saloons who indulge in Dewey-baiting. Mr. Walker puts the finger on Morris L. Ernst as leader of this cabal. Mr. Walker says that Mr. Ernst doesn't believe that Mr. Dewey is filled with the holy passion for civil liberties that Mr. Walker and Mr. Dewey insist he is filled with.

Mr. Dewey, when he was district attorney, had, as you will recall, the habit of putting little suspects into remote and obscure Bastilles until such time as they were ready to "sing." Having performed in these Dewey "singing schools," the suspects were then liberated, to have their places taken by the subjects of their songs, the bigger suspects. To a number of lawyers other than Morris Ernst this procedure had the faint Jesuitical odor of doing evil that good may come, but Mr. Walker points out that the District Attorney was using a perfectly good legal device called the "joinder," and that anyway he got results, didn't he? Look at Lucky Luciano.

On the subject of Mr. Dewey's underlying philosophy there is one story that we are surprised to find a smart man like Mr. Walker repeating. When someone was talking about a certain politician's lack of vote appeal, Mr. Dewey looked up and said, "He got elected, didn't he?"

On the whole I think I like the pictures in this book better than the text. I have mentioned the one of the farm hand. The honey of the collection is the one captioned "Off for a Round of Golf at Pawling." The candidate has been snapped—though "snapped" is hardly the word for the command photographs of Mr. Dewey—striding forth from the euphemistically named "farmhouse" at Pawling, New York, with a number of golf sticks in a bag, his sport shirt thrown open, and such a light as never was on sea or land beating about his uncovered head. Sir Galahad about to mount his charger would look like one of the late Mr. Luciano's "little punks" in comparison.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Heroic Vitalism

A CENTURY OF HERO-WORSHIP. By Eric Russell Bentley. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.50.

THERE have always been thinkers, appreciated as prophets in democracies, who have not concealed their scorn of democratic philosophy and practice. But when democratic institutions are threatened by war and reaction, their words take on a more baleful meaning. A tendency develops among the opinion makers of the democratic community to convert these thinkers into scapegoats, and to portray them as ideological forerunners of today's enemy. Almost every critic of democracy from Plato to Nietzsche has been dubbed a "proto-fascist." Such interpretations violate basic principles of sound historical method and fail to do justice to those insights into man and society which had previously been hailed by democrats as containing important and healthy truths.

Among the major contributions of the anti-democratic prophets of the nineteenth century, usually buried in a mass

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of fustian and intellectual rubbish, was a plea for the preservation of the distinctive values of the personal, the noble, and the heroic in social experience. In this interesting study Mr. Bentley analyzes the theme of historical and aesthetic hero-worship in the works of Carlyle, Nietzsche, Wagner, Shaw, Spengler, Stefan George, and Lawrence. He shows that they left an ambiguous cultural heritage to the world and explains why they could be instructive and inspiring to democrats and why, at the same time, the fascists could exploit them for their own ends. What unites all the heroic vitalists is a repudiation of the ideals of democracy because of the degrading and vulgar democratic practices in existing culture, a refusal to go back to the past in search of an archaic system of values, and a fervent hope for a tomorrow in which new forms of excellence in art and life would be achieved by an élite.

At the end of the book Mr. Bentley offers a positive philosophy of heroic vitalism, seemingly pruned of all reactionary elements, to serve as a leaven for modern democracy and socialism.

Mr. Bentley's treatment of his material is impressive in a number of ways. He does not spare his subjects—indeed, his exposure of their personal failings and his criticism of their irrational doctrines are merciless. None the less, the authenticity of their vision comes through. This is particularly true for Nietzsche, and in lesser measure for Carlyle, one of the most overrated figures of the nineteenth century. Not one of the men discussed appears likable even to a small degree in Mr. Bentley's account. But all are pictured as having captured some significant truth that challenges us to deepen our own ideas about man and history. Second, Mr. Bentley avoids the confusion of substituting sociological explanations of why ideas are accepted for an explanation of why they are generated in the life career of the individual. In a characteristic sentence in his discussion of Wagner he drily observes, "Hitler and Mr. Viereck are wrong if they think ideology or musical taste is the foundation of fascism." The problem of the generation of ideas in philosophy or art is primarily psychological. In approaching it the author reveals a deftness and suggestiveness that make the extreme solutions, the violent posturings, the inconsistencies, and the self-flagellation of the heroic vitalists intelligible to us. Third, Mr. Bentley's judgments, although refreshingly personal, are based upon a wide reading that pays more attention to the substance than to the reputation of scholarship. He would have strengthened his interpretation of Carlyle if he had explored the great influence of Carlyle on the early Engels and Marx—some of Carlyle's language is in the "Manifesto,"—particularly Carlyle's critique of capitalist culture, and their reasons for rejecting his Tory socialism. Finally, Mr. Bentley's style is delightful—clear, vigorous, and unburdened by its rich load of erudition.

And yet Mr. Bentley's book is marred by a moral flaw that goes to its very heart. This is already apparent in his chapter on Shaw, in which all Mr. Bentley's virtues are lacking save style. Despite Shaw's glorification of the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler, he is sharply dissociated from other heroic vitalists and defended as a protagonist of a new democracy. The reason boils down to the claim that although Shaw admires Mussolini and Hitler, he admires Stalin even

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more. In the light of his sympathetic defense of Shaw, one wonders what, after all, are the real grounds of Bentley's rejection of the heroic vitalists. Those he gives—their authoritarianism, their reverence for successful power, the ease with which their doctrines can be used to systematize terror—apply substantially to Shaw too. If anything, on Bentley's own showing, the case is worse for Shaw. For Bentley pleads in extenuation of his other heroic vitalists that were they to return to earth and see what had been wrought by the professed practitioners of heroic vitalism, they would "weep" and "recant." But when Shaw praised Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, he had already heard the "screams" from the concentration camps and seen "the flames from the burning books." Not even Wagner, the most bloodthirsty of the heroic vitalists, would have dared to say as Shaw did, "The majority of men at present in Europe have no business to be alive." Does Mr. Bentley believe that no vegetarian could really mean this? Hitler is a vegetarian, too.

Although Mr. Bentley recognizes the elements of diabolism in Shaw he does not assess them properly. To link together, as he does, the social philosophies of William James and of Shaw is an intellectual outrage. James was filled with a passionate hatred of cruelty; if he hated anything more than cruelty, it was an apologist for cruelty. Shaw has a passion for anaesthetic efficiency at any cost to human life and freedom. He does not see the masses as individuals but as material to be sawed and planed to fit a fixed pattern. He would have no objection to an efficient Hitlerism without heroics or race nonsense. But heroics are not, as Mr. Bentley fails to realize, elements essential to fascism.

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I pass over Mr. Bentley's remarks about Stalin and Russia, which are on the same order as Carlyle's on Frederick II. But his sneers at Gide and other socialist critics of dictatorship and cultural terror reveal that he believes, not that power is a necessary instrument of morality and intelligence, but that it is sufficient for power to be successful to be moral. This he identifies with pragmatism! The whole problem of ends and means does not exist for him. Criticism which points out that certain desirable ends can be better achieved by other means, and that the use of some means defeats desirable ends, is airily dismissed as anarchism.

We can now better understand the defects in his formulation of the principle of democratic heroic vitalism. Politically, the problem for him in a democracy is not one of participation by all individuals in the processes of government but wise acceptance or rejection of "leaders who come forward." His ideal is not some heroic work or principle of significance in the life of everybody but the discovery of an élite of professional heroes. He tells us that democracy must include aristocracy; more, it is justifiable *only* because it can produce an aristocracy of talent. Democratic equality is to give us the chance "to revere superiority—which implies inequality."

This is better than traditional heroic vitalism but not good enough for democracy, for it invites a new class society based on the dictatorship of the self-selected wise or good. Were Mr. Bentley consistent, he would accept Plato's "Republic" as his ideal "democracy," since it too provided for "careers open to talent." And if we are to "revere superiority," why not intrust the administration of public welfare to superior persons? No, this is a far cry from a democratic conception of the hero. To "revere" superiority is the first step to giving certain persons exceptional privileges at the expense of their fellow-men who are not superior but whose needs are just as great. If we refuse to draw a contrast between an aristocracy of talent and the masses of the untalented, and provide opportunities for individuals each to make his best contribution, we may diversify the patterns of excellence, quality, and heroism. There is no hierarchy of beauty in a garden; and we can recognize and appreciate greatness in men and their work without regarding the masses as fertilizer.

SIDNEY HOOK

China's Industrial Cooperatives

I SEE A NEW CHINA. By George Hogg. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

MOST Americans, particularly *Nation* readers, are likely to think of present-day China either in terms of military exhaustion or of internal political conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communists. But Mr. Hogg writes of a China that is new-born and vigorous, a China that is little concerned with either Kuomintang or the Communists. His New China is that of the industrial cooperatives, located principally in the northwest.

Few Westerners have had Mr. Hogg's opportunity to know war-time China from within. Before reaching the northwest he spent weeks in the guerrilla areas of Shansi and visited the headquarters of Chu Teh, legendary commander-in-chief of

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China's Red Army. After reaching Honan, he quickly linked up with the Chinese industrial cooperatives, and as "ocean secretary" he made numerous trips through vast areas of Free China. He shared the dangers and hardships of the Chinese who were turning out great quantities of war materials under the very noses of the Japanese.

As the picture of these fighting cooperatives unfolds through Hogg's vivid description of the personalities and problems he encountered on his trips, it becomes clear why the cooperatives are not and cannot be operated by some central authority at Chungking. Each individual cooperative has been created to meet a special war-time situation in the locality. Most of them were set up to enable the refugees from the war zones—who were without tools, capital, or raw materials —to turn out desperately needed war supplies. But in other instances workers formed cooperatives so as to continue output after the owners of the enterprises had fled. Often the establishment of a cooperative proved the only way of resuming production in areas devastated by Japanese raids.

Chungking figures in the book only as an outside force which endeavors from time to time to superimpose its authority on the cooperative movement. Although centralization of such a movement is obviously impracticable and undesirable, this did not prevent the effort from being made by politically ambitious groups. Fortunately, these efforts failed, but not before they caused a great deal of anxiety and some confusion among the working cooperative groups. The dramatic story of the cooperatives' struggle for freedom to do their job provides as much insight into the basic issues facing China as will be found in any other contemporary book.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

"Fortune's Football"

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS: A LIFE. By Eleanor Ruggles. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

IN THE autumn of 1881 a member of the Society of Jesus, then undergoing the severe discipline preparatory to taking his final vows, wrote from his retreat at Roehampton to his friend Canon Dixon: "Now if you value what I write, if I do myself, much more does our Lord. And if he chooses to avail himself of what I leave at his disposal, he can do so with a felicity and with a success which I could never command. . . . But since," he concluded, after further exposition of his conscientious scruples about publication, "as Solomon says, there is a time for everything, there is nothing that does not some day come to be, it may be that the time will come for my verses." The time came for them truly, but only after a lapse of almost as many years as the Israelites spent in the wilderness. The faithful doubtless see confirmation of the poet's assurance in the happy reversal of fate suffered by his work, and the agnostic cannot but marvel at the remarkable rise to fame of this obscure priest of Victoria's reign. It was only some thirty years after his death in 1889 that his friend Bridges, then Laureate of England, gave the poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins to the world. Their power and originality attracted the attention of all serious practitioners and students of poetry. He has since been the subject of various biographical and critical studies, while scholarly editions of

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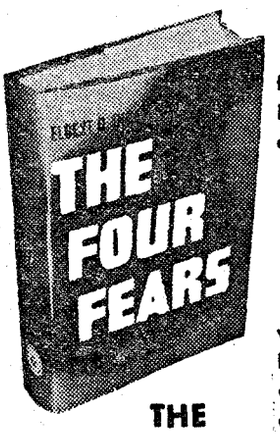

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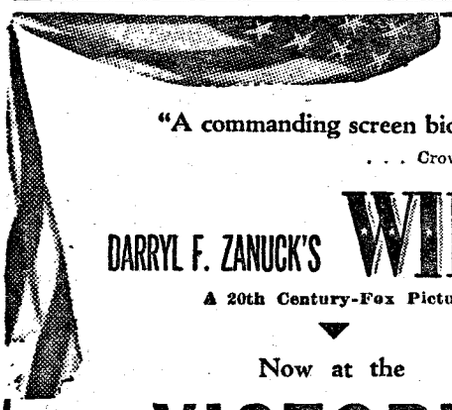

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his letters and notebooks, indeed, of every scrap of his writing that could be rescued, have been issued from time to time. His influence is indelibly evident in the verse of our contemporaries.

His latest biographer, in addition to having had a good deal of spade work done by her predecessors, would seem to enjoy the further advantage of being able to adopt a more objective view of the poet than his Catholic apologists. Some doubt as to this objectivity, however, is cast by her final sentence: "In the enactment of obedience the poet had placed his destiny in another's hands, and in so doing he was moved by the special guidance, the particular providence, which his profession had fitted him to receive." Yet the tone of the book as a whole is not that of the voice of a devout believer. Thus, in speaking of the suicide of certain of Hopkins's fellow-students and the desperate situation of others, Miss Ruggles writes, with something less than piety, "Their wrecked careers were commentaries on Oxford, on their stars, and on themselves." Throughout, it is rather difficult to see just where the author stands, a fact which does both her subject and herself a disservice. Yet her account is ambiguous only in its *point d'appui*.

She offers a careful account of Hopkins's school days, his life at Oxford under the warring influences of Jowett, Liddon, and Pusey, his conversion, the difficult period of his novitiate, and the weary years of routine work in Chesterfield, Glasgow, and Liverpool, when life was, as he once confessed to Bridges, "as dank as ditch-water" and had "some of the other qualities of ditch-water." She shows us Hopkins enduring with mournful courage the misery of being "Fortune's football," as he put it, compelled repeatedly to blow up "the bladder of resolution big and buxom for another kick of her foot"; and she dwells sufficiently on his trials when teaching in the uncongenial environs of Dublin, where he spent the five wretched years with which his life drew to a close. If on his deathbed his last whisper was, "I

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am so happy," it would seem to have been the happiness of one who joyfully accepted release from the burden of a dejection almost too heavy to be borne.

It is in dealing with this aspect of his personality, the psychopathic nature of which she recognizes, that the author shows herself most helpless. "What was the primary spring of his despair—if indeed it may be called despair?" she asks, almost at the close of her book. "What were the lesser tangential causes contributing to it? To what degree was the state of mind contingent on his external circumstances? To what degree did it take its somber tone from the color cast by his temperament upon these circumstances? How much of his repining was that of the mystic unanswered? How much of it was the more commonplace discomfiture of the neurotic unrelieved? The answers to these questions," she concludes, "are the prerogative of the individual student." But Miss Ruggles is herself such a student, and it would seem to be something more than her prerogative to offer her own answers. It is an obligation which she quietly repudiates. Nor does her cluster of queries include one that seems inevitable to the present reviewer. Hopkins, as Miss Ruggles cannot avoid emphasizing, was a man with the keenest sense of his own selfhood, and one of the chief springs of his poetry, contributing largely to its peculiarities, was his awareness of what he liked to call the "inscape" of every person, place, and thing, the pattern that makes for the essentially individual character of a work of art or nature, as "air, melody . . . in music and design in painting," or the mixture of strength and grace that represented Christ to the poet. It was his concern for individuality that helped to make for Hopkins's devotion to Duns Scotus, though Scotist doctrine was not precisely smiled upon by his fellow-Jesuits. Is it not plausible, then, that one of the deepest sources of the poet's malaise was that his passionate self-awareness, seeking expression now in verse, now in penciled sketches, and again in music, was being perpetually trodden under by the strict rule of an Order which demanded a self-abasing obedience? The curious kinship between Hopkins and Whitman, which Miss Ruggles explores with skill and delicacy, is further suggestive of a cause of the Jesuit poet's difficulties. In any event, our author, though offering all the evidence at her disposal for an answer to her questions, fails to attempt a reply.

To tell the story of a poet's life, even when poetry was his avocation rather than his profession, involves an examination of his work, and with this Miss Ruggles deals competently. She might perhaps have had more to say about his influence on a later generation, and dealt more amply with the critical insights revealed in his letters and notebooks, but within its limitations her discussion of Hopkins's writings is admirable. Yet if she is sensitive to the beauties and singularities of his manner, she is strangely blind to certain lapses in her own style. Thus she speaks of his sympathy with Scotus as a "hobby," and sometimes permits herself such infelicities as the remark that "artist's blood flowed on both sides of the Hopkins family." How Hopkins himself, exercising his sharp wit, would have commented on that sentence!

This is not the definitive life of the poet for which his admirers have been waiting, but it is unquestionably the most acceptable yet published.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

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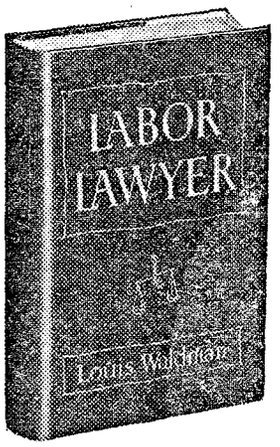

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DANCE

STRAVINSKY'S "Danses Concertantes," which I now have heard three times with Balanchine's choreography, is patently the work of a master of his craft—the craft of putting sounds together; the craft, further, of putting them together for dancing. Its usefulness as sound-track for the choreography is in fact the only value the score has: what is so masterfully contrived is arid and horrid and not worth listening to for its significance as music; but at point after point it presents the choreographer with something—an ostinato figure, let us say, or a melody—which, though synthetic and sterile as music, lends itself to translation into dance movement—specifically into the delightful episode of three dancers with joined hands intertwining endlessly, or the equally delightful *pas de deux,* into which Balanchine translates the two details I have mentioned. ("It is," wrote John Martin down his upturned nose, "as completely antagonistic to movement as any score within memory, lacking the sustained dynamics which are the very basis of dance. Mr. Balanchine has done a clever, somewhat mathematical, job of choreography, almost totally devoid of dancing.")

On the other hand, the sumptuousness and elegance of Berman's black-and-white scenery and the bright colors and sharp patterns of his costumes are something one exclaims over for themselves, before one notes how the scenery creates a living atmosphere for the movements and how these are pointed up and made brilliant by the costumes. One instance of this was pointed out to me by Edwin Denby: in each of the four groups of three dancers the two girls have only their torsos clothed in color, with their arms bare and their legs in flesh-colored tights; but the boy is in solid color from cap to gloves and shoes—with the result that standing or moving between them and holding them as they fling arms and legs about he is a stable mass that keeps them from flying off into space.

One might say, after "Danses Concertantes," that by acquiring Balanchine's services as choreographer the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe had taken a long step toward rehabilitation. It is a step concerned primarily with repertory: there will be an increasing number of first-rate new ballets which should result in the gradual elimination of the rubbish the company has offered the public as novelties recently. But it may affect other things that have been wrong. For example, I would expect Balanchine, who has great feeling for music, to press toward getting it treated with respect by the dancers and the management—that is, toward having it played in correct tempo by an orchestra of sufficient size and quality; and in this he will be seconded by the new conductor Balaban. Certainly, as a man concerned with dancing Balanchine will campaign for discipline and precision—which is to say sufficient rehearsal; and already "Swan Lake" and "Coppélia" show evidence of the restudy which other works are badly in need of. And he will want the management to stop trying to operate the company with an insufficient number of great dancers for the leading roles of its repertory.

But the première of Balanchine's "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" leaves me with a fear of what the bad conditions in the Monte Carlo company may do to him before he can do anything to them. What they caused to be presented to the public and press was something that had been rushed and pushed to production before it was completed and ready—before the choreography had been thoroughly learned and absorbed, before it had been securely joined to the orchestral performance of the music, before Berman's magnificent costumes had been properly fitted to the dancers' bodies, before his magnificent scenery had been properly lighted, and—as if that were not enough to destroy the effect of the ballet—with the second-line dancer who had replaced Franklin in the leading role having to walk through the performance because of an injured foot. That way the Monte Carlo management will destroy Balanchine's prestige with the public and his usefulness to the company.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Matthews's Pity Is Misplaced

Dear Sirs: The two recent articles by Herbert Matthews in the New York *Times*—one on the lynching of Carretta and the other on the execution of Caruso, the latter embellished with photographs of the scene—seem to me very alarming for the future relations between Europe and this country. To Mr. Matthews, who has not witnessed the sufferings of Europe, the fact that an inhuman Fascist brute tortured hundreds of innocent men, women, and children whose only crime was to love their country and hate Fascism, seems of comparatively little importance. He gives us no descriptions of the way those innocents were done to death (and for that reticence we may be thankful, because such descriptions make your flesh creep); but since he shrinks from describing the violent deaths of good people, why does he choose to devote entire columns to the deaths of two men who deliberately put themselves out of bounds from mankind by breaking every moral law? Do these depraved beasts exert a sort of fascination upon him as a writer, that he seeks to make us weep by describing every little last gesture, the crutches on which the murderer had to lean, and the crucifix—a parting gift from the Pope—which he kissed in a last attempt to save his black soul from well-earned damnation?

If Mr. Matthews feels so strongly about a brute like Caruso, how much deeper ought to be his emotions concerning the families of those poor victims whom Caruso sent to their death by turning them over to the Germans! Isn't his perspective equivalent to a distortion of the truth and a perversion of our sympathies? Millions of worthy Europeans have died at the hands of the Fascists. Are we to forget them and pity their murderers?

PAUL PHELPS MORAND

New York, September 24

Rhode Island Rises

Dear Sirs: For some weeks I have been involved in a desultory dispute with certain of my friends as to whether or not you were displaying a fine disregard for facts—I being on the affirmative side. It began with or just after the article by I. F. Stone which flatly and unequivocally stated that Mr. Wallace would be renominated by your party's convention in Chicago. Your failure to acknowledge the error in that article after it was publicly demonstrated nearly won my case, but I held out for an even stronger proof.

In your issue of August 19, page 200, lines 5-6, you have finally proved the case of your utter disregard and/or distortion of facts for propaganda purposes. I am sure Senator Taft would set you right on the point, but also that he will not so demean himself as to teach you grammar-school history.

Roger Williams, up to and including 12:00 noon EWT today (August 30, 1944), was never "expelled from Rhode Island." Hence I am glad the President's reading is not to be at all curtailed. He may read some discouraging election returns before next Christmas.

FRANK M. ADAMS, JR.

Providence, R. I., August 30

[We are grateful to our correspondent for protecting the honor of Rhode Island, and we shall therefore recommend to Mr. Taft that the President's reading be restricted to material published before Roger Williams was expelled from Massachusetts.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Chance to Think

Dear Sirs: "Don't Call Us G. I. Joe" was an excellent article, honest and accurate. I feel sure that what Lieutenant Spingarn said of the men overseas is true. And, obviously, something ought to be done about it.

But, why overlook the G. I.'s in the states? There are a great many of us here who feel that our minds are becoming atrophied. We are intellectually stale. Camp libraries are overcrowded, noisy, hot, and often lacking in substantial nourishment for the mind.

No one but a genius can study in a barracks, a Day Room, a Service Club, or a Service Club library. (Unfortunately, the chapel isn't too well lighted.)

A great many of us who have never been overseas are paying a (small) price, too, in frustration and discontent. I, for one, feel that if and when I ever get out of the army, I shall want to go off to some solitary, uninhabited island, there to have peace, quiet, serenity, and a chance to think for the first time in two or three years.

The army is the worst damned place for noise I have ever encountered. These G. I.'s talk, talk, talk, talk about nothing of any consequence whatever, hours on end—from reveille to about 0100 hrs. A man who likes to think or study hasn't got a chance. It's a wonder some of us don't go mad and bite people. As for listening to a symphony—it is to laugh!

Isn't it possible for the army to make some provision for those G. I.'s still in the states who'd like to think, study, write? Or are we to go on, seething and boiling in the inward man, until our resentments seek release in some sort of explosion?

I wish *The Nation* would write an editorial on this. SERGEANT

Somewhere in the U. S. A., August 27

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it is only in essays written for Haldeman-Julius that Dr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. Most standard publishers are afraid to issue works that are frowned on by the orthodox and conventional. Such a restriction is never encountered in the editorial department of the H-J Publications. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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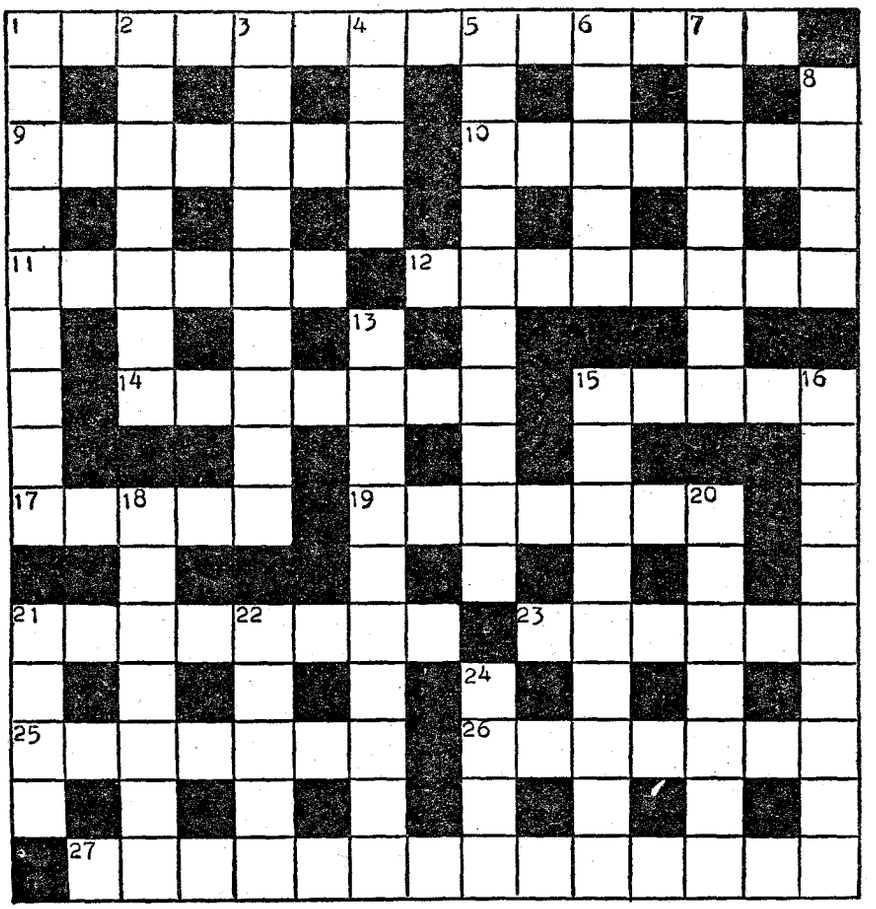
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 84

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Card-players may know it as "The curse of Scotland" (three words, 4, 2, and 8)
9 One of Shakespeare's fairy plays
10 Home of Elaine in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*
11 Possible second name of Laurence Sterne
12 Brief advertisement about a writer
14 The natural thing to do after accepting a cigarette (two words, 5 and 2)
15 Get on with this: there's a rush coming
17 Make pay accurate
19 Wrote the bit at 27 Across
21 Perhaps you've observed European tourists carrying this bag on their backs?
23 If this balance is at the bank, it is probably on the counter
25 Boasts the world's oldest university
26 Number needed for a crowd (two words, 4 and 3)
27 "Oh! a Baronet's rank is exceedingly nice, but the title's uncommonly ---- -- --- ----- !" (*Ruddigore*), (four words, 4, 2, 3, and 5)

DOWN

1 Cathedral in Paris; university in Indiana (two words, 5 and 4)
2 A Scots man comes up with a twisted nail
3 Mistake of one up in the clouds?
4 "How ---- the busy little bee improve each shining hour, It gathers honey all the day and finishes at four"
5 Fruit the swallows pass (two words, 5 and 5)
6 A slight change of route
7 His ballets, *Coppelia* and *Sylvia*, may be familiar to you
8 If missing, one's choler rises, perhaps
13 One credits the theatrical producer with this
15 Crave hope (anag.)
16 Speaks well of you when you're down
18 Spanish judge
20 Author of the monumental *War and Peace*
21 This girl is a real gem
22 Honeyed words from Argus
24 Rubbish may be shot here

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 83

ACROSS:—1 BEGIN; 4 PAM; 6 ARGUS; 9 EULOGIC; 10 REGALIA; 11 ECHOES; 13 GOLLYWOG; 15 SHRINES; 16 DEDUCE; 17 UNDO; 19 ORDAINS; 21 GLAD; 23 ENAMEL; 25 GAS-FIRE; 27 PRUDENCE; 28 SAWNEY; 31 CHARMER; 32 STELLAR; 33 STERN; 34 DID; 35 SIKES.

DOWN:—1 BREVE; 2 GALAHAD; 3 NEGRESCO; 4 PUCK; 5 MORMON; 6 ANGELS; 7 GOLDWYN; 8 SLANG; 12 SHERMAN; 13 GIRAFFE; 14 LEANERS; 16 DOG; 18 OIL; 20 SNEAKERS; 22 ADULATE; 24 MENELIK; 25 GERMAN; 26 SCARED; 27 PECOS; 29 YARDS; 30 USED.

Checking Up

Dear Sirs: It is interesting to notice how a "liberal" magazine stands on an important question. On July 3, 1937, on page 445 of Volume 145, *The Nation* had an editorial called Third Term: Bad Medicine. The following are quotations from this editorial:

> The real question is not how authentic the tradition is historically, but how wise it would be to break it. We agree with Jefferson that to leave the Presidential term unlimited would be to open the gates wide to bureaucracy and despotism. And whatever may have been true in the past, this is not the time to venture on such a course. The dictatorships of Europe have drawn the issue with democratic government. Their emphasis is always on the indispensability of a particular leader. If Mussolini goes, the whole fabric of power that he has built up goes with him. Democracies do not function that way. They seek to draw upon the resources of leadership in the people themselves. Despite the high regard we have for the character, abilities, and programs of Mr. Roosevelt, we feel that no man is indispensable for the future of America.
>
> But suppose that in 1940 the alignment is such that no Democrat except Roosevelt looks strong enough to beat a reactionary Republican. In that event we should still feel the same way. First, because it is always easy to maneuver the situation so that the choice seems crucial. Second, because we regard the precedent of an indefinite Presidential term as bad medicine, even for such a disease. It is medicine that could be used as easily, and much more harmfully, by someone in the near future who really has fascist leanings.

Thus spoke *The Nation* in 1937, but in 1944, having rationalized itself into the "leader" theory of government, it states in its issue of July 24: "But President Roosevelt has been a man whose greatness shines brightest in time of crisis. He is the only possible leader for the next four years."

The Nazi Party never coined a better phrase for dictatorship than "the only possible leader." The editors in 1937 were Freda Kirchwey, Joseph Wood Krutch, and Max Lerner. The editors in 1944 are Freda Kirchwey and associates.

S. D. N.

Washington, July 21

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